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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF ARTS AND SCIENCE
(Department of Political Economy)

A THESIS

LAND TENURE IN WESTERN CANADA
with particular reference to the
SPECIAL AREAS OF ALBERTA

Submitted in partial fulfilment
of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

(Master's program: six graduate
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thesis)

By

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LAND TENURE IN WESTERN CANADA

with particular reference to the

SPECIAL AREAS OF ALBERTA

Part 1.

The formulation of a land program on a broad scale must take cognizance of tenure conditions with respect to land. One aspect of the tenure problem involves farm tenancy and ownership. This is the more evident aspect. Other aspects are equally important. In Canada these problems did not develop during the present generation but are in part the outcome of various policies that became apparent only after confederation. Particularly is this evident in the three prairie provinces.

There has lately been a growing interest in the problems relating to land tenure such as farm tenancy and absentee ownership of marginal and submarginal lands, various aspects of renting and leasing systems, the sociological results of certain systems of tenancy and the effect of certain systems of land tenure on

the productivity of agricultural lands. These are only a few and perhaps the more important points that may come to the fore in a discussion of land tenure.

Canadian Government land policies in the West have made the private ownership of land their primary objective. We shall later see how successful these policies have been. Since private ownership of land has played such a large part in the West it may be well to review the nature of private property in land as it applies to the problems on hand.

A convenient way of looking upon property in land is to visualize it as a bundle of rights and correlative duties. When a person assumes title to a piece of land he takes for granted certain rights associated with ownership. He also recognizes that certain rights are retained by the sovereign power. Not only that, but a particular owner is required to abstain from exercising his rights in such a way as to infringe upon the legal rights of others. For instance, a person has a perfectly legal right to cultivate his own land as he chooses so long as his methods of cultivation do not interfere with his neighbors - as long as he prevents the spread of weeds

from his farm to others, prevents soil drifting, etc. The rights of the sovereign power include the right of taxation, the right of eminent domain and those rights which may be exercised by the State under its police power to protect the public welfare. So actually, an individual's property rights are limited and are constantly becoming more limited because of state action in regard to control of the supply of agricultural products by crop control, control of the spread of weeds, insects and disease, licensing legislation, and in other ways. In Canada private property in land may be said to be a part of the bundle of rights that exist between absolute social or public property and absolute private property.

Ely and Morehouse¹ look upon property as not consisting of physical things but as an exclusive right to the use of things. Leasing property is relinquishing for the life of the contract one's rights to the personal use of it. Ownership in property is looked upon as a bundle of rights - an exclusive right to the use of an economic good. Ashby² goes a step

1. Ely R.T. and Morehouse, E.W. Elements of Land Economics.

2. Ashby, A.W. "The Relations of Land Tenure to the Economic and Social Development of Agriculture" Int. Conf. of Agr. Econ. Proc. 1936 p. 89.

further in saying that tenure in land involves more than a right to simple exploitation of the resources of the soil. It involves the exploitation of labor.

The various rights and correlative duties associated with property rights have had a slow growth. They have all had a common beginning in the public domain.

The manner in which the public domain has been annexed and disposed of was dependent upon many factors. Economic, geographical, political factors, and factors relating to the social development and culture of a country have all played their part. At different periods, these factors have played different roles.

In many of the ancient civilizations the title to most of the land was held by the sovereign and administered and leased out by him or his representatives. In Egypt, under the warrior priest kings, the ruler, and simultaneously the central state authority, obtained almost all lands as a patriarchal domain to be administered according to a given scheme. Much of the land was worked by compulsory labor. Some was rented out on a crop-share or cash basis. In some cases nobles received titles to

large estates subject to the pleasure of the sovereign. This led to enduring hereditary possession of large tracts of land and private ownership. Mesopotamia developed similarly. Ancient Rome gave much of its conquered territories to colonists developing a system of private property. There were also large scale sales to large entrepreneurs who exploited their estates by working them with slave or a combination of slave and wage labor. In addition there was also a system of sub-leasing to tenants.

In many of the civilizations (e.g., Eastern Europe) parallel with a development of hereditary ownership in land was hereditary serfdom. Even with the abolishment of serfdom, vestiges of this system remain.

The principle of the inalienability of the public domain was adopted by France beginning in 1313. Most European countries followed suit until by the 19th century the validity of the principle was widely recognized. A movement arose whereby large tracts of public land that had passed into private hands by usurpation were recovered by the state. The French revolution played a great part in accelerating this movement.

In some countries a large portion of the landed property of princely houses was returned to the public domain by bilateral treaties as in Germany. France and Spain returned such land to the public domain through simple legislation. The losers were the church and the nobles. The intention has been and is still to turn these large tracts into small freehold parcels operated by peasants. ¹

The building of the public domain in (new) countries consisted of simple appropriation with or without armed force in the name of a European ruler. The right to exploit the land was often delegated to some person or groups of persons.

After the first acquisition of the public domain every effort was made to dispose of it by sale or gift. The central aim was to get the land occupied and in use as soon as possible. Land not used was a liability rather than an asset. Occupation was necessary to retain it.

1

Recent press reports (February, 1940) indicate that in Spain the process is being reversed. Estates that had been legislated into the public domain before and during the late Spanish Civil War are now being returned to their former owners.

Countries which, like Canada, had developed transportation systems out of all proportion to their immediate needs, were anxious to fill the land with settlers to use the newly acquired transportation systems, provide markets for the products of the industrial areas and to provide taxable resources.

The system of settling the land varied. The policies followed were often indefinite or conflicting. Even so, certain regulations, if followed would have done much towards systematic colonization.

" But in the long run political aims bowed to geographical and economic forces, good laws failed through bad or inadequate legislation, a hole was found in every legislative fence, and either through legislation or in spite of it, the frontiersman, the man on the spot, got his own way. There is perhaps no aspect of public policy in which the gulf between aim and policy result is so wide as in the handling of public lands." ¹

In North America the need for settlers dominated land policy. But the socio-cultural ideas of the time provided the background. The democratic nineteenth century wanted small landowners and moulded its land policies to achieve this result.

¹

Heaton, Herbert. Enc. of Soc. Sc. Vol. 12, p. 619.

The large ranchers with favorable leaseholds had to make way for the homesteader and his plow. The North America Free Soil Democrats of the United States carried the doctrines of natural rights and equality of opportunity into the land discussion and found there a cure for poverty. A system of small landowners would check land speculation. This would prevent the accumulation of large estates and simultaneously a landless proletariat.

The principal was that the land had to be settled and, because of the temper of the times, free grants seemed the desirable policy. They were even more desirable when hedged round by conditions demanding residence and improvement. Land would thus attract the poor but willing. They would pay for the land by suffering the discomforts of pioneer life. What little capital they had would help develop the country. The foundation for an owner-operator system of tenure was set.

In some of the British colonies - Canada and Australia - a system of perpetual quit-rent grants was instituted but was unsuccessful. Settlers were few and scattered. Meanwhile, quit-rents were

difficult to collect and were not paid. To remedy this situation a policy was introduced whereby land was sold at a "sufficient price" - sufficient to provide passage money for laborers to pay for public works and to prevent laborers from buying land until some years of selling their labor and thrift had put money in their pockets. This played a great part in the settlement of New Zealand and Australia. It might have played a great part in the settlement of Canada had it not been for the generosity of her next door neighbor, the United States. To attract settlers it had to be at least as generous. Therefore it followed the American example of land preemption rights and cheap land to almost anyone who wanted to buy.

The Antipodes were influenced in their land policy to a great extent by economic and geographic considerations. Leasehold played an important part partly because of the early importance of the pastoral industry and partly because of the unsuitability for cultivation of large sections of the land. Leasehold made legal the pastoral occupation of crownlands pending their

complete alienation in smaller farms. It regularised the relations between squatter and government, offering security of tenure for a fixed number of years to the farmer and yet kept the ultimate disposal of the land in the hands of the latter. It assisted the rancher. He did not have to have a large amount of capital tied up in land. The loss of possible income from land sales was in effect a subsidy for the development of the cattle and sheep industries.

With the approach of almost unlimited grants of land to settlers in Canada and the United States, various problems had to be met. They were difficult and detailed. What would be the most appropriate unit? What should be the conditions of residence and improvement? Should settlement be directed towards restricted areas or should it be unrestricted? If land was to be sold what was the best method of sale? The United States put forward certain solutions while Canada adopted them, modifying them in the light of United States experience and the different conditions to be met with in Canada.

FORMS OF LAND TENURE

The development of forms of land tenure has generally been paralleled or preceded by developments in the economic, political or social sphere. These in turn are influenced by the character of a people and their past. Thus, although various nations may have similarities in their land systems they will often be found to be derived from a vastly different *setting*.

At different periods in the world's history and in different countries land has been looked upon in different ways. The tiller of the soil is mainly concerned with use and maintenance. How or where he can produce his own livelihood is the major consideration. The speculator may look at it in terms of what is sometimes called "unearned increment". Some may look upon it in terms of social prestige. Where property rights confer or restrict rights of citizenship, property elements may play a greater part than immediate agricultural considerations. Often a combination of these factors has been the predominating influence.

Any international discussion of systems of

land tenure must be affected by the fact that social and cultural factors as well as economic and political all play their part in the development of a tenure pattern. Different countries in different cultures and epochs have developed different tenure systems to meet different conditions. Each adapted their tenure system to their own conditions and for their own purposes. To generalize would be difficult and perhaps misleading.

Brinkman¹ explains that in a rough way one may proceed from the more collective tenure and extensive cultivation (or use) of land to the more individualistic and intensive. In early cultures, the radius of movements of the primitive hunters and nomads was necessarily large relative to the size of their social units because of the small part played by labor in the exploitation of their flora and fauna. With the development of more intensive uses of land there is a tendency for a development of localized plots and fields whose size and use is governed by a variety of factors - fertility of soil, natural protection from the elements or foes, availability

1

Ency. of Soc. Sc. V.9 p. 73.

of water or fuel, proximity to transportation facilities such as a stream, and others. In these areas of intensified utilization of land, tenure plays a more important role for the individual than in the more extensive systems where hunting or perhaps grazing were the chief uses made of the land. Most tenure systems, down to the rise of the private property concept, had something in common, the more apparent characteristic being that no one could say of a particular piece of land, "This is mine". To describe the development of different systems of tenure in this manner, is however, misleading. Such an explanation does not take into account all the varying influences that play their part in the development of tenure systems in different countries nor does it explain the differences as between countries. The experience of one nation has only a limited application to the land-tenure system of another nation. The land tenure system in Canada may be considered to be a further development of the land-tenure system of Europe, particularly Great Britain, but one would have difficulty in tracing its evolution. The British system has been developed under a set of complex

circumstances different from those that have affected Canada.

Forms of land tenure may be classified according to different criteria and for different purposes. A broad criterion would be a division between public and private ownership. This is the first step in many classifications. In a comprehensive program of land use planning where shifts and adjustments in the use of land are to be made to adapt agriculture to changed conditions, it is important to recognize the different land-owning agencies, public and private and to secure their co-operation. The ownership pattern will in this case largely determine the character of the land planning program. Ashby uses the criterion of exploitation of labor on land. He argues that,

"In the economic sphere it will be obvious that one of the dominant sets of factors in social evolution, both as a result and cause, is to be found in the relations between systems of land tenure and systems of exploitation of labor. One of the most important facts in connection with land and land tenure is that there is no system of exploitation of land which is not self-destructive. In most of the phases of human society there could not have been exploitation of labor, unless systems of land tenure had provided opportunities for such exploitation and indeed quite often had arranged to expedite it. The chief reasons for arrangement of land tenures in certain forms are that they provide for related forms of exploitation of labor."

"Indeed ideas and facts of human superiorities and inferiorities, ideas and systems of social stratification, ideas and systems of exploiting whole groups for the metaphysical ends of "the state" or of exploiting the socially inferior for the mystical ends and purposes of a State or 'civilization' which is conceived as consisting entirely of the small superior group, have all entered into the determination of systems of land tenure. But simple plain exploitation of the labor of the needy, landless or socially inferior for the material benefit of those in control of the land, without any mystical objective of the privileged and even without attempt to show any form of moral justification, is sufficient to account for many systems of land tenure." ¹

At one end of the tenure scale Ashby places the strict feudal form with slave labor and all it implies, and at the other the strict socialization of land with remuneration according to effort and without recognition of ownership. Between these two extremes are many variations. Ashby has listed the more important ones keeping in mind the forms and degrees of exploitation of labor. ² Ashby's rather broad classification can be further compressed as follows:

1

Ashby, A.W. The relations of land tenure to the Economic and Social Development of Agriculture Int. Conf. of Agr. Econ. (Proc.) 1936, p. 89.

2

Ibid p. 90

- (1) The Feudal System
- (2) Estate systems with share, cash share,
and cash tenancy
- (3) Owner occupation and cultivation
- (4) Public ownership
- (5) Group ownership

These groups all differ in the degree of exploitation of labor. Further, the interest of the actual tiller of the soil in the land he cultivates varies. The rights associated with different classes vary under the different forms of tenure.

The people who tilled the soil under the feudal systems were tenants of various classes most numerous of which were the villeins. They had certain rights. Each held a tract of arable land usually of about thirty acres besides a share of the meadowland. They also had the right of pasturing their stock upon the commons and of cutting wood in the forest. However, the villein was just short of a slave. He was attached to the land he tilled and could not leave without the lord's consent. He could be sold with the land but not apart from it. Furthermore he had to give a certain portion of his labor to the cult-

ivation of his master's fields. This was in addition to the payment of various taxes.

The lord of the manor (the unit in the feudal system in England) kept control of his land at the pleasure of the sovereign. In return he had to perform certain duties chief of which were the collection of taxes and the providing of military support.

The characteristics of estate systems vary under different conditions. But they all have something in common. In all, a large area of land, usually in one block, is worked by tenants under various agreements. A variation is when the estate is worked by direct labor. All forms are worked under close supervision of the landlord. They vary as to the respective contributions of the landlord and tenant. Under all forms the tenant provides the labor of himself and often of his family. Under the cropper system, he provides little else. In this case the landlord provides stock buildings, machinery and seasonal labor. Even his living expenses, which are looked upon as an advance upon the year's operations, are provided.

In the estate systems other than the cropper system, and the estate with direct labor, the tenant adds more than merely his labor. In addition he may provide all or some machinery, livestock and seed. The buildings are usually provided for him.

The tenant's interest in the land varies under the different systems. The cropper system is little more than a contract for the year's labor. In the various forms of short period tenancy, the operator has little incentive to take a long run view in regards to the operations of the land he cultivated. His crops are limited by the supervision of the landlord. Following Ashby's line of thought, these systems were adopted because they were found to be the most convenient manner of exploiting labor.

Owner occupation and cultivation implies that the operator is his own capitalist, entrepreneur and to a greater or lesser degree provides his own labor. He may transfer some of his capital-providing function to some one else by means of mortgages or other credit assistance. But his aim is to dispense with this as soon as possible and be his own capitalist. Ashby's group which he calls "estate system with

direct labor" is really owner occupation and cultivation with the difference that the estate owner contents himself with the functions of capitalist and entrepreneur. Sometimes in fact, he performs only the function of capitalist. The owner operator in the western hemisphere usually employs some labor but a section farm would hardly be called an "estate". Following Ashby's line of thought we may say the owner operator is not only the exploiter but also to some extent, the exploited.

Public ownership may be either state or municipal. Occupancy may be by the individual, resulting in individual tenancy or use, or by a co-operative or co-partnership group occupation and use. Public ownership of land implies exploitation of agricultural labor for the purposes of the state. The Soviet Union provides perhaps the best present example of this type of ownership. The large state farms are similar to the estate system with direct wage paid labor. Private ownership, which includes the collectives and individual farmers, is subject to the pleasure of the state. Perhaps nowhere else has the state used its sovereign power in regard to the land question for better or for worse as much

as in the U.S.S.R.

In tribal (clan or group) occupation there is use without recognition of ownership. Here the land may be used and the crop owned by the community as a whole or the land may be apportioned for the use and benefit of one individual without recognition of ownership of land. The latter case in effect may be similar to owner operation of land.

Refinements in this classification may be made by further defining the contributions made to production, the privileges and rights associated with the occupancy of the land, and the returns made to the various agencies.

The important thing in land tenure systems up to comparatively recent times was the successful exploitation of the labor of others by the appropriation of land by a successful minority. Only because of the possibilities of exploitation and successful appropriation was it possible to have feudal estates and plantations worked by slave labor. Even with the passing away of slave labor, the appropriation of land was still an effective means of exploiting labor.

THE PROBLEM OF TENANCY

Tenancy in the older civilizations has been known as long as we have written history. Its glaring defects have to a large extent been recognized. In the old world custom has played a large part in defining the responsibilities of landlord and tenant. A hereditary tenancy which is in part a relic of the feudal system has done much to stabilize landlord-tenant relations.

In Canada and the United States the widespread use of tenancy as a means of operating land is of comparatively recent origin. In Canada particularly the problem of tenancy came to public notice only when aggravated by the depression.

When there is an abundance of good land obtainable at a moderate or nominal price there is no problem of tenancy. Before the better lands of the west were taken up by settlers, the vast majority of the farmers were owner operators. True, even at that time there were many renters. But to them, it was, usually, merely a step in the agricultural ladder. Starting out as a hired man, the young man could hope to rent a farm and then purchase one by

hard work and thrift. At the present time the final rung of the agricultural ladder seems more difficult of attainment and even some who had reached the goal of private ownership of land have sunk back into the position of renters.

The expansion of tenancy has been so great that the United States Government has taken measures to check its evils, if not its actual growth. For this purpose there was appointed a special "President's Committee" to investigate the problem and present recommendations. In his letter of transmittal to the Congress of the United States, the President emphasized that the desired base of operator-ownership was disappearing.¹ Over a period of a half a century the tenancy rate has increased from 25 per cent to 40 per cent going as high as 70 per cent in some of the better lands of that country.

1

"The American dream of the family-size farm, owned by the family which operates it has become more and more remote. The agricultural ladder, on which an energetic young man might ascend from hired man to tenant to independent owner, is no longer serving its purpose."

(75th Congress, 1st Session, House Document No. 149)

The problem there as defined by the President is one of insecurity of tenure.¹ As such it covers a field larger than mere tenancy. Insecurity of tenure is not exclusive with the tenant farmer. It is one of the basic problems of land tenure.

In the United States the owner-operator's equity in his holdings is, on the average, 42 per cent. Comparable information could not be obtained for Canada. The position of the owner-operator carrying a large debt load is, in relation to security of tenure, little better in many cases than that of the tenant farmer. Recent legislation has, to some degree increased security of tenure for the owner-operator.

Van Tunglein has some pertinent remarks in his discussion of the agricultural ladder and the increase in tenancy.² He states that it is sometimes considered that high land values defer ownership and therefore increase tenancy rates. High tenancy rates prevail in regions of high land and high farm values because

1

Ibid.

2

it requires more years for the prospective buyer to accumulate enough funds to make his first payment on a farm in these regions than it requires in regions of lower land and farm values. United States figures show that the average age of farmers acquiring farms is rising. This however cannot be considered serious because the farms they purchase are of higher value than was formerly the case. Age at first ownership is therefore perhaps not the best measure of rural progress and should not receive major emphasis. Deferred ownership might actually hasten the day of final ownership.

Because of the higher land values it is no wonder that purchases are made later in life. This also would explain the higher average indebtedness of farmers. It is not reasonable to assume that an average individual starting with little ^{can} in an average lifetime, achieve the complete ownership of a valuable piece of property - the farm - and at the same time enjoy the standard of living and the freedom of say, the city worker. Ordinarily the average operator purchasing farm property believes that with a reasonable amount of thrift and hard work he can in time have a clear title to that property. Economic and agricultural

depression, however, make it difficult for him to relieve himself of his indebtedness. As depression continues the difficulties are intensified. The probable result is that the operator descends to the tenant class or at best is only nominally an owner-operator.

A factor that is rarely mentioned or at least not appreciated is the fact that good homesteads are now comparatively scarce. As long as good homesteads were available this had the effect of acting as an alternative to tenancy. Thus the tenant that is at present temporary might earlier have been a homesteader and proprietor of land. When good land becomes scarce and land values rise tenancy tends to increase. On some of the better farming lands in the United States 70 per cent of the operators are tenants.

Another factor that is likely to be important, but which, in Canada, has not been investigated, is that the tenancy picture is augmented by the presence of numbers of landlords' relatives renting land. Relatives (particularly sons and sons-in-law) who expect to obtain the farm they are now renting by

inheritance, are in a different position from the ordinary tenant. Security of tenure is assured and any improvements made are for the operator's own good. Although grouped in census figures with other tenants it will readily be recognized that problems usually associated with tenancy will be absent.

The American and Canadian ideal is the family operated and owned farm. It is this attitude which has played a large part in the land policies of the two respective governments. The general view is that ownership of land is economically and socially more desirable than tenancy and in particular that ownership creates a greater incentive to economic effort and enterprise than the most secure form of tenancy.

The problem of tenant farming is, simplified, merely an extension of the problem of owner cultivation of land. To the various problems attendant upon the owner operation of land is added the additional problem of the tenant. Therefore farm tenancy is a problem of good farming and a problem of good landlord-tenant relationships. On an owner-operated farm the various factors contributing to successful farming may be grouped under two headings -

the owner-operator and the land. The various factors affecting the owner-operator are as follows:

(1) The knowledge of agricultural practises necessary for that particular type of farm which includes not only the knowledge of operating the farm as a production plant but also as a business enterprise.

(2) The debt burden assumed by the operator at the beginning of his career.

(3) The capital invested by the owner-operator and the method of distribution amongst the various factors of production.

The following factors must be considered under the heading of "land":-

(1) The physical and chemical characteristics of the soil coupled with climatic characteristics which limit its productivity.

(2) The size and organization of the farm considered as an economic farm unit.

(3) Locational features associated with distance to market and social services.

(4) Other factors such as available water supply which tend to assist the productive process and make

the farm more tenable.

These problems become more complicated on the tenant operated farm because of the addition of a third factor - the tenant.

The reasons for the increase in farm tenancy are many and varied. The primary reason for the large increase in recent years has been the general agricultural depression and resulting economic instability. But the roots are to be found in factors inherent in the land policies of the country.

Restrictions in the homestead and pre-emption policies limited most operators beginning their operations to one or two quarters of land. With the further development of methods of production and increasing competition this size of farm was found to be inadequate in many sections of the country. In the meantime land values had risen and expansion was difficult. The only way the size of farms could be increased in many cases was by renting additional land. Another result of the free land policies was that in many cases they proved defective as a means of keeping the land in the ownership of those who worked it.

Many homesteaders were chiefly concerned with an early sale after they had proved up their land and after land values had risen. In addition policies for the disposing of the public domain to railways, land companies and others in large grants had permitted the acquisition of large areas often kept for *speculative* speculation purposes. Periodic booms have caused the disposal of these lands at greatly enhanced prices and resultant depressions have caused many to lose their purchased farms and sink to the status of tenants. Notwithstanding some attempt to direct settlement the system of disposal of public land adopted did not prevent many from filing on or buying inferior lands with consequent unfortunate results. Over-expansion in land and machinery (often at peak prices) coupled with inadequate credit facilities have caused many to lose their holdings and become tenants. These factors and combinations of these factors have all played their part in increasing tenancy.

The family operated and owned farm has been the goal ~~reached for~~ in Canada. The chief attraction is security of tenure. Tenancy has been regarded as a

form of insecure tenure. However, with proper adjustment of leases, and the definition of the responsibilities of landlord and tenant, there is no reason why security of tenure cannot be obtained. Most of the other factors which are generally known as defects of tenancy may be corrected in a properly constituted farm lease.

Defects in tenancy systems are many and varied. Foremost amongst them is insecurity of tenure. From this stem out all the defects commonly associated with tenancy. The greater the insecurity of tenure, the more evident are the defects of tenancy.

Foremost amongst these defects is the early exhaustion of the natural resources. With the short term leases common in Canada and the United States there is an attempt on the part of the tenant to obtain as large a return as possible during the period of tenure without regard to future production. The tenant with a two year lease can ill afford to plant anything but cash crops. A rotation has no place in his system. The result is inevitably a rapid depletion of soil resources.

Perhaps the most serious social aspect of widespread short term tenancy, particularly in the United States, is the low standard of living common amongst the tenants. Crowding in bleak, unattractive houses of poor construction is common. Chronic undernourishment makes these families readily subject to disease..

Short term leases lead to migratory population. Incessant movement deprives these people of normal participation in social activities. The children particularly are affected, because, with periodic interruption of their schooling they suffer not only from economic but also mental insecurity.

Many of the problems we associate with tenancy can be corrected in an equitable rental contract. It was previously mentioned (p. 28) that the problem of tenancy was merely the addition of the tenant to the problem of good farming. The owner-operator is replaced by the tenant. The factors that affect him as an operator of land are similar to those of an owner-operator. The factors affecting the land are the same. The additional problem arises from landlord-tenant relationships. The place where these relations are formalized and where the defects of tenancy could be remedied is in the rental contract.

METHODS OF RENTING

Rental contracts are usually classified according to the manner in which the rent is paid, whether by cash or by share of the produce. Census information on tenancy in Canada is classified on the basis of cash tenancy, share tenancy, and cash-share tenancy. This applies to renting for cultivation purposes. In Western Canada grazing leases are usually cash rentals.

In the landlord-tenant relationship, each is trying to get the maximum benefit from the association. The farm lease is an attempt to maintain an equitable distribution of agricultural produce between landlord and tenant. Figures for Western Canada dealing with the number of tenants operating under a satisfactory farm lease are not available. What little information is at hand seems to show that many tenants operate with little more than an agreement, sometimes verbal, to crop the land for a period of years with some form of payment. According to the Census of Canada (1931), many leases are for two and three years. This does not apply to grazing leases which

are generally for longer periods of time.

Therefore, recognizing the fact that tenancy is on the increase in the west, there is a definite need for recognizing the responsibilities of the two principals concerned. In the last analysis farm tenancy is merely one form of division of the productive process in agriculture. The manner in which the various functions in the productive process are made binding should be present in the rental contract.

The first requirement of a rental contract or lease is that it should be in writing. This provides a means for a careful consideration of the responsibilities of both landlord and tenant. A verbal lease gives no security of tenure beyond one year and is likely to be entered into without careful planning for the operation and maintenance of the farm. Likewise this form does not encourage the best practices on the part of the tenant. In the written lease there should be adequate provision for soil conservation and improvement. To provide for an equitable distribution of receipts the contributions of the landowner and tenant should be carefully examined.

In all forms of tenancy the landlord provides

the land as a part of the production process. In the west, buildings, fences, wells and other improvements of a permanent nature are also supplied by the landlord. He pays the taxes, although payment of taxes may be explicitly included as a charge on the tenant in a cash or share-cash rental agreement. Beyond this, the amount of his contribution to the productive process varies. Extreme cases where the landlord provides nothing but the land without improvements of any kind, or by contrast, where the tenant provides nothing but his labor, are rare in Western Canada. Typically the land has some improvements - grazing land has been fenced, crop land has been cultivated. A lease, implicitly or explicitly, contains a provision providing for the maintenance of fences and improvements of a permanent nature such as buildings, wells and springs, and grounds (lawn, shelterbelt, etc.) The responsibility for the maintenance of improvements of a permanent nature varies as between different rental contracts. Management usually lies entirely with the tenant except in so far as his activities conflict with what is generally considered to be

good farming practice.

The contributions of what might be termed fixed and variable capital vary. By variable capital is meant the ordinary day to day costs of productions. This would include the cost of hired labor, repairs, binder twine, harvesting, threshing and hauling. In some contracts the landlord supplies the seed. In others he pays part or all of the threshing and trucking bill. Depending upon circumstances, the contribution of the landlord varies.

The tenant's first contribution is, of course, his labor. Some forms of tenancy (cropper systems) may be considered merely as contracts for labor in which the tenant supplies nothing but the labor of himself and his family, the landlord supplying everything else, including the food and clothing of the tenant and his family. However, in the Canadian West, the tenant usually supplies more than merely labor. A typical form of share lease in the west is one in which the landlord supplies nothing but the land and improvements and the tenant supplies seed, livestock, and machinery sufficient to carry on all the farm practices to their logical conclusion. Different

variations of this typical form have already been mentioned. Provision is usually made for the obligatory following of certain recognized agricultural practices, but often does not specify the type of crops to be grown.

Greater attention has been paid to the problems of farm leases in the United States than in Canada, because of the greater prevalence of tenancy and the fact that it, agriculturally, is an older country and the shortcomings of tenancy have made themselves more apparent. In appendix A are copies of suggested forms for farm leases in the United States and Canada. The important features common to all are as follows:

1. The agreement is in writing.
2. The legal description of the land rented is given.
3. The contributions of both landlord and tenant to the operation of the farm are specifically mentioned.
4. The amount and method of payment for the use of the land is decided upon.
5. Farm practises to be followed are enumerated.
6. The term of the contract is definitely mentioned.

The purpose of the farm lease should be to regularize the relations of landlord and tenant and attempt to maintain some equality between expenditure and return.

PUBLIC TENURE IN WESTERN CANADA

THE GEOGRAPHIC SETTING

This section will deal with the territory now known as the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. Of Canada's total area of 3,694,863 square miles these provinces comprise 753,497 square miles or 20.4 p.c.¹ of their total area of 452,159,000 acres, 199,904,000 acres are suitable for agricultural production.²

The variety and variableness of climate and soil influenced greatly the manner of disposition of the public domain and the development of tenure conditions.

Over the whole of this region there are great differences in climate and soils. The highest mean summer temperatures are to be found in the approximate area bounded on the north by a line drawn from Medicine Hat to Winnipeg and on the south by the International Boundary. (See figure 1.)

1
Census of Canada, 1931.

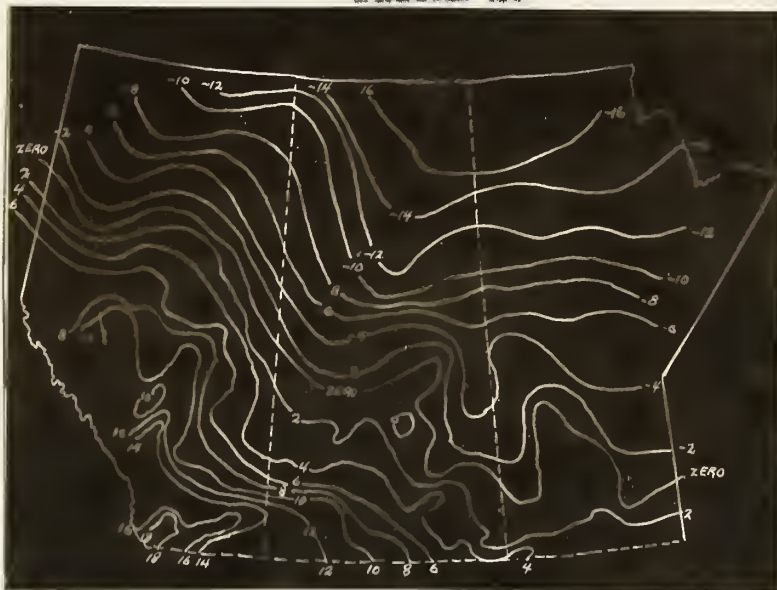
2
Ibid.

FIGURE 1.*



Average Mean Summer Temperature °F.

FIGURE 2.*



Average Mean Winter Temperature °F.

*MacKintosh "Geographic Setting" p

The mean summer temperature decreases as one goes roughly north-east and south-west from Medicine Hat. The highest mean winter temperature is found in the south-east corner of Alberta and decreases to its lowest point at, roughly, the northern tip of the Saskatchewan-Manitoba boundary.¹ (See figure 2.) The north-eastward sweep of the isotherms has permitted settlement to go farther north in Alberta than in Saskatchewan, and farther north in Saskatchewan than in Manitoba. In normal years most regions have sufficient moisture for crop needs. Nevertheless, next to the length of the frost free period, precipitation is the most important limiting factor in Western agriculture. In areas of low precipitation (see figure 3.) where crop production is always carried on with minimum conditions of moisture in mind, any downward variation means crop failure.

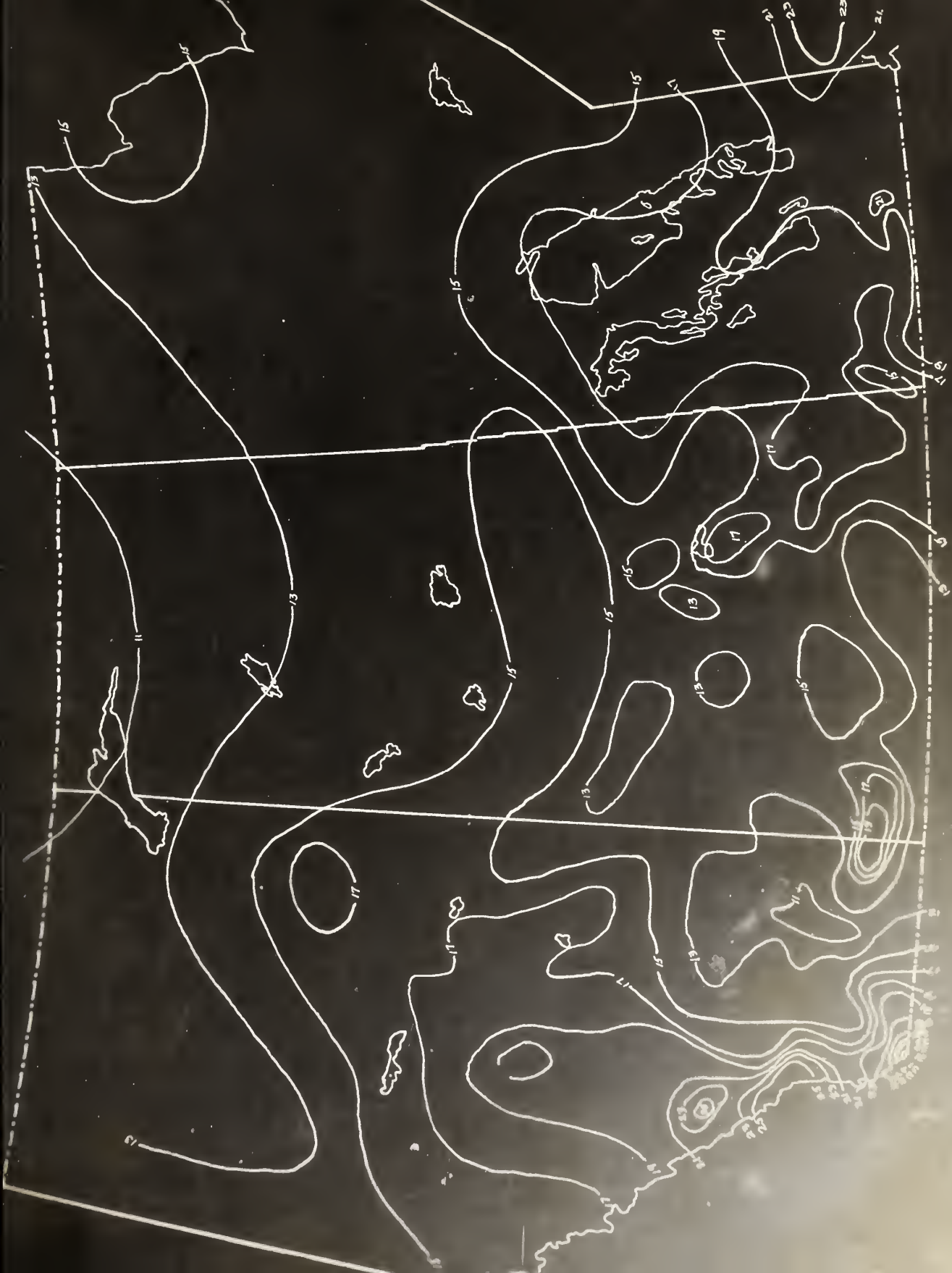
1

Late spring and early fall frosts are common and this coupled with late maturing varieties of cereals played a large part in discouraging early settlers. The comparatively small amount of precipitation * (small as compared with that in Eastern Canada) also tended to discourage early settlement.

* "Over the whole of this prairie region moisture is scanty. The annual precipitation is 20 inches or less." Mackintosh "The Geographic Setting." p. 13.

FIGURE 3.
PRECIPITATION IN INCHES *

* Agriculture, Climate and
Population of the Prairie Prov-
inces of Canada. Dominion Bureau
of Statistics 1931.



As important as the rate of precipitation is the rate of evaporation. Unfortunately, ^{in Southern Alberta,} areas of low precipitation are characterized by high rates of evaporation. This reduces the amount of moisture available for the use of crops and is an important factor in dividing the crop history of the drier sections into "good" or "bad" years.

The variableness of climatic conditions is one of the chief limiting factors in agriculture in Western Canada and agricultural production must of necessity adapt itself not only to certain norms of climate but also of climatic variability.

The soils of the Great Plains or "prairie" region of North America are characterized,

"by (1) the presence, on some horizon of the soil section or profile, of a zone of alkaline salt accumulation, usually, not exclusively, lime carbonate, and (2) a relatively dark surface soil. As a rule, the surface colour becomes lighter and the zone of alkaline salt accumulation occurs at shallower depths as one goes from the areas of heavier to those of lighter rainfall. The soils of the region are conspicuously high in the essential plant foods, nitrates, lime, and potash." (Ibid p. 20.)

The soil map shown is highly generalized, and excludes the marked variations which occur within the general soil belts. There is a great complexity of

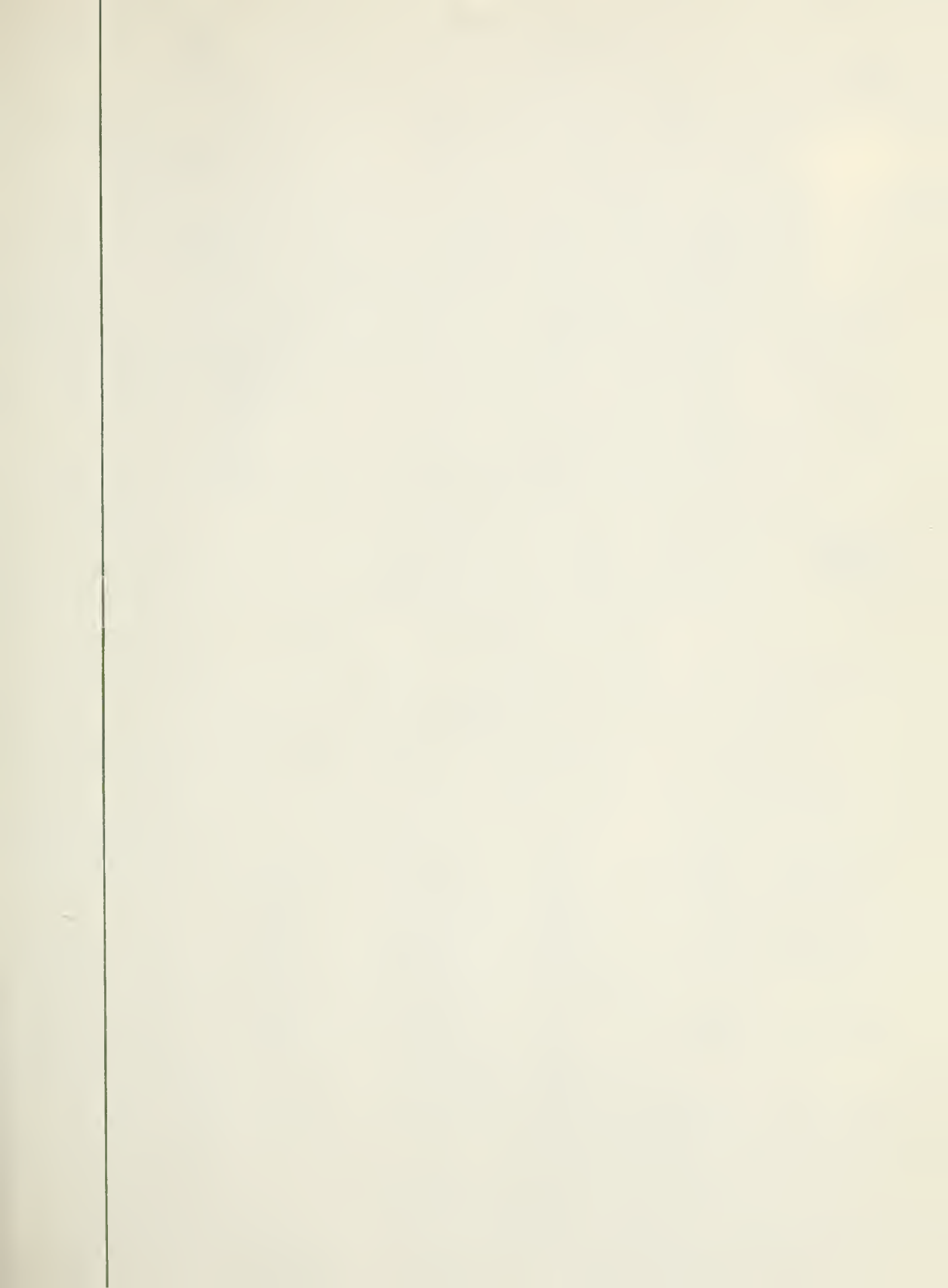


FIGURE IV.
Tentative Generalized Soil Map *

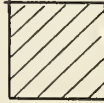
LEGEND



Timber Grey Soil
Acid Peats.



Chestnut Soil



Timber Grey Soil
High Lime Peats



Prairie Plain
Dark Brown Soil



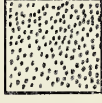
Transition Timber
and Park Soil



Plain Brown to
Greyish Brown Soil



Park very Dark
Brown Soil



Sand Dunes

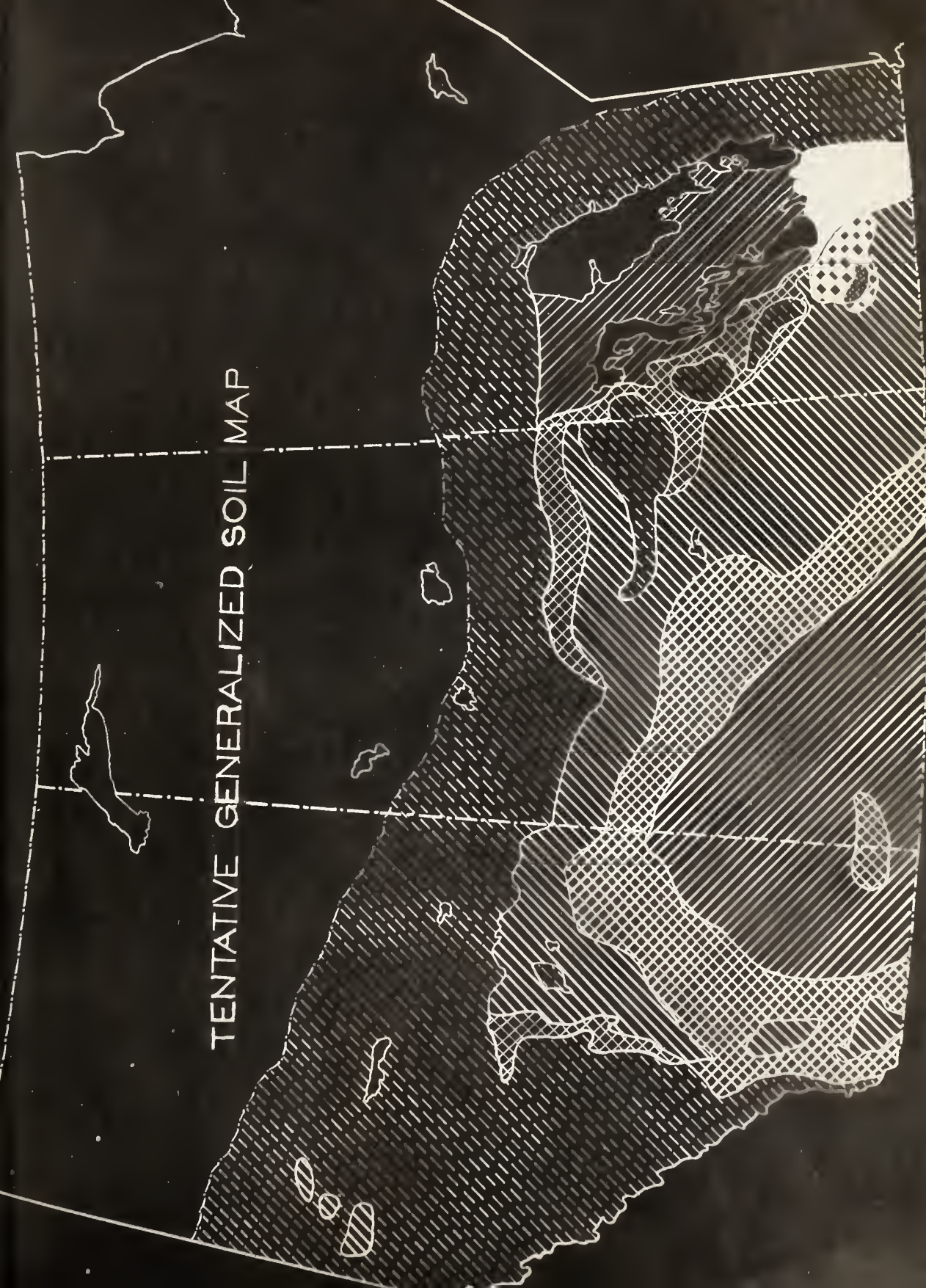


Black Meadow
Prairie Soil

*

Agriculture, Climate
and Population of the Prairie
Provinces of Canada Dominion
Bureau of Statistics 1931. p.24.

TENTATIVE GENERALIZED SOIL MAP



soils, varying from soils that are highly fertile, to those useless for agricultural purposes.

In general the darkness of a soil is an indication of its nitrogen content and its fertility. The more productive soils in western Canada are all dark. The darker soils are associated with certain climatic and vegetation conditions found in the park belt. Prairie soils vary from a fairly dark to a light brown. These are associated with smaller annual precipitation and a grass cover.

The primary limiting factor in the west that has made it difficult to establish a stabilized agriculture is its geographic variability. Local differences play an important part in deciding whether a settler has chosen a "good" location or not. Slight variations in soil and topography may mean the difference between a crop or no crop at all. But ^{the} most important geographic characteristic is its variability of climate. Killing frosts are common late in spring and early in fall. In fact this is the main reason why early settlers, with their late maturing varieties of grain shunned the west. A succession of years with a comparatively long frost

free period may be followed by a late spring or early fall frost doing tremendous damage. But the year to year variations in rainfall are the chief factors limiting agricultural production. The combination of lack of rain during critical periods in the crop season with hot drying winds rapidly depletes the soil moisture. Since agriculture over many parts of the west is carried on close to the minimum conditions necessary for success, the variability of climate particularly of rainfall is of utmost importance. This variability, particularly where cereal growing is attempted, leads to a low percentage of occupied lands, a low density of population, a high percentage of abandoned farms and a return to less intensive types of agriculture such as grazing. On the other hand, this same variability will keep the speculative soul on the land, planting his crop year after year satisfied if he gets back a little more than his seed (he has always been able to obtain relief) waiting for a bumper crop. He looks back on the bumper years of 1915, 1927 and 1928, when he was "sitting pretty" and expects them again. "All we need is rain" is his eternal plaint. The tragedy of it is, that in

all probability, he will get rain and the same problems which make the "Drought" areas what they are today may again have to be faced unless a vigorous land policy fully recognizing the climatic background is put into effect.

AGRICULTURAL EXPLORATION

The expansion of settlement to the western United States focussed attention on what was known as Rupert's Land, in Canada. The population in the Western States was increasing by leaps and bounds. In Rupert's Land, there was a vast empire about which little was known with no agricultural settlements except along the Red River. In the United States settlements were well served with transportation facilities. To reach Red River the most feasible route was via the United States. There was agitation in the United States for annexation of these vast uninhabited western plains. In Canada the president of the Canadian Executive Council declared that the western boundary of Canada should be the Pacific Ocean. The British and Canadian Governments had to do something.

Since Rupert's Land was under the control of the Hudson's Bay Company, a Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, was appointed in 1857 in England to investigate the matter. In part its enquiries dealt with the question of the suitability

for agricultural settlement. There were two divergent views expressed, one that the country was unsuitable for agricultural settlement and the other that it was. The individuals who expressed the first point of view were generally more intimately connected with the country than those who said it was suitable. However, many of the former were biased in their views being connected with the Company. Sir George Simpson, the Governor of the Company, was understandably of the opinion that no part of the Hudson's Bay Company territories were suitable for settlement. He laid greatest emphasis on uncertainty of crops. Speaking of the Red River, he said the country was not adapted for settlement,

"on account of the poverty of the soil, except for the banks of the Red River. The banks of the river are alluvial and produce very fair crops of wheat; but these crops are frequently destroyed by early frost; there is no certainty of the crops. We have been under the necessity of importing grain within these last ten years from the United States and from Canada, for the support of the establishment."¹

1

Lackintosh, W.A. Prairie Settlement: Geographic Setting, p. 29.

Sir John Richardson, the Arctic explorer, emphasized the lack of transportation, the while considering prairie soils inferior to alluvial. He believed that settlement must wait till a transportation system and markets were developed.

Those with little personal knowledge of the country sometimes gave exaggerated reports of its possibilities. Dr. Richard King, who had been to the Arctic stated that most of the west was arable.

With these conflicting opinions the Colonial Office decided to send Captain John Palliser,

"to explore that portion of British North America which lies between the northern branch of the River Saskatchewan and the frontier of the United States and between the Red River and the Rocky Mountains and to record the physical features, the nature of the soil, its capability for agriculture, the quantity, and quality of timber and any indications of coal or other minerals."¹

It is ^{of}his explorations regarding the possibility of agricultural settlement that we hear about today. In the light of what we know now of the three Prairie Provinces it might be well to review some of the more pertinent of Captain Palliser's observations.

Captain Palliser divided the whole of the region into two parts, the "fertile belt" and the "semi-arid desert". The former was the wooded and park area and the latter was the treeless or "true" prairie. The treeless prairie he described as the northern fringe of the Great American desert.

"Palliser's Triangle", in reality an irregular pentagon, formed the dividing line between what he considered the "fertile" and "arid" belts.

"this line marks the boundary of two natural divisions of the country, viz., the ancient forest lands and the true prairie district. To the north of this line generally there is timber, a good soil for agricultural purposes up to 54° north latitude, and superior pasturage: to the south there is no timber, the soil is sandy with little or no admixture of earthly matter and the pasturage is inferior. Exceptions of course may be found, as for example in the neighborhood of swamps and gullies, where the soil and pasture are better. The entire absence of wood is felt by the Plains Indians during the severe months of winter. During the summer they use as fuel the bones and dung of the buffalo, but in the winter they are obliged to retreat to the borders of the river where they can obtain wood."¹

Palliser took into consideration difficulties of transportation but he did not advocate the building

1

Ibid p. 33.

of an all British railway line. He assumed that incoming settlers would follow the line of the Great Lakes to the extremity of Lake Superior and then cross overland to the St. Paul-Red River road. As late as 1871 the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba in a pamphlet giving advice to immigrants, advised taking the lake route. The settlers,

"may ship from Collingwood to Duluth on Lake Superior, thence by rail to terminus at Red River, and from thence by prairie road or steamboat 'International' or 'Selkirk'. The latter (lake) route, is probably most direct and convenient." ¹

It is not necessary to comment further on Palliser's often quoted report. Suffice it to say that the report emphasized the fertility of the land adjacent to the North Saskatchewan River and in a belt from 50 to 100 miles east of the Rocky Mountains to the south and the aridity of the south central prairie. Other expeditions followed.

In 1858, an expedition under Professor H. Y. Hind was sent out. Generally speaking, he considered the treeless portions of the second prairie level as

1

Spence, Thomas: Manitoba and the North West of the Dominion; Its Resources and Advantages to the Immigrant and Capitalist - 1871.

unsuited for agricultural settlement.

On the basis of these reports it is small wonder that the Edinburgh Review was led to conclude:

"It would be an intolerable evil if such a small and comparatively insignificant a portion of British soil as this 'fertile belt' were to involve us in complications with our neighbours. With our examination of the whole midland region, much of this danger, it will be granted, disappears; for no one is likely to invade 'strong woods' or a desert; while the existence of a large disaffected population, or, in fact, any population at all, becomes highly improbable. There is very little prospect of rapid settlement in the region between Canada and British Columbia." ¹

In an earlier article it showed its lack of enthusiasm over the project of taking over Rupert's land by writing:

"The truth is, a colony has already been established at Red River. It has conspicuously failed from defects of climate, position and communication, and there is no reason to think that the failure would be less complete if the name of the Crown were substituted for that of the company." ²

In 1871 Butler again emphasized the aridity of the prairie.

".....the Great Plains, with a few

1

MacKintosh, W. A. Prairie Settlement: Geographic Setting p. 39.

2

Ibid p. 39.

exceptions, are arid, treeless and sandy - a portion of the true American desert which extends from the fertile belt of the Saskatchewan to the borders of Texas..... (This area) must ever be useless for the purpose of colonization and settlement."

Again in 1874 Commissioner French of the Royal Canadian North West Mounted Police provided further indications of the aridity of the west.

Reports of the land and topographical surveyors indicated that much of the Drought Area as we know it today was considered then to be submarginal for purposes of cultivation. A. P. Patrick, in 1879,¹ Montague Aldous, D. T. S. in 1880,² William Ogilvie in 1881³ and again in 1882,⁴ W. T. Thompson, D. T. S. in 1882⁵ in their reports all supported Palliser's observations.

In 1882 several surveyors described respective sections of Palliser's triangle in Alberta. Chas. E.

- 1 Don. S. P. No.4, 1880.
- 2 Don. S. P. No.3, 1881.
- 3 Don. S. P. No.18, 1882.
- 4 Don. S. P. No.23, 1883.
- 5 Don. S. P. No.23, 1883.

Wolff described the area west of Suffield now accepted as submarginal.

"Continuing on the Meridian south, between ranges 6 and 7, Township 15, the country is undulating. Soil sand and gravel with a subsoil of gravelly clay. Here, on account of men and horses suffering for want of water, I turned southeast, and went to the South Saskatchewan River."¹

Further exploration as to the agricultural potentialities of the plains were undertaken with the advent of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. Professor John Macoun, who was responsible botanist to the Engineer in chief, rejected many of Palliser's and Hinds conclusions and estimated that approximately 150,181,000 acres were fit for agriculture and pasture. In 1926, the high point for settlement over much of this area, the Census reported 89,000,000 acres occupied with 49,000,000 acres improved.²

These then, give some indication of the material

1

Dom. S. P. No. 23, 1883.

2

Macintosh W. A. Geographic Setting. p. 40.

on which the legislators of the time could formulate and execute land settlement policies which provide the pattern of the West of today.

EARLY SETTLEMENT

The fur trade had early come to be of prime importance to the Canadian North-West and was the means of livelihood for most of its sparse population. Agriculture was sometimes practised in the vicinity of the scattered trading posts but merely to supplement the diet. Small plots of ground grew a variety of garden products with here and there an attempt to grow cereals. The results were significant only in that they showed the unreliability of nature.

The founding of Lord Selkirk's colony on the banks of the Red River was the first attempt at agricultural settlement in the Canadian west. The idea behind the settlement was at first an attempt to relieve the misery of the lower classes particularly of Ireland. The location of the colony was represented as:

"A country which the Indian traders represent as fertile and of a climate far more temperate than the shores of the Atlantic at the same parallel and not more severe than that of Germany and Poland.... The Soil and Climate are similar to those of the Russian provinces which supply most of Europe with Hemp, and on which, after the experience of the late wars - this kingdom cannot with prudence rely."¹

The first proposal (1802) failed. It was not till 1811 that the Hudson's Bay Company, who administered this vast area of land, submitted to the idea of agricultural colonization and then only because of the inroads of the North-West Company. Lord Selkirk, a large stockholder in the Hudson's Bay Company as well as a philanthropist, proposed that this colony, besides providing cheap provisions for the posts would also be a source of cheap labour for the forts and for the best brigades.

In its small sphere the colony might be considered a success. But the more distant objectives of Lord Selkirk were unfulfilled chiefly because of a lack of transportation and the impossibility of producing an exportable commodity. In an economy whose sole possible purchaser was the Hudson's Bay Company there was a limit to the expansion of the colony. Various attempts were made to find an exportable commodity but they all failed. Hargrave sums up their experiences:

"Efforts have been made again and again to establish certain manufacturers for exportation and the "Tallow Company", the "Buffalo Wool Company," the "Buffalo Woolen Cloth Company," "Flax" and "Bectroot Sugar," Companies after being successively patronized *by eager friends, have passed away leaving nothing but their names and debts*."

Morton says:

"All attempts to find an exportable product thus failing the colony was necessarily reduced to playing the modest part of handmaid to the fur trade."¹

Agricultural settlement in the Canadian North West had reached a stalemate and little more could be done till the potentialities of the West were better known, certain crops were adapted to its conditions and an export basis was found for its commodities. This first attempt at a strictly agricultural settlement does not appear to have influenced tenure conditions in the West.

In the United States an immense tide of European immigration began to pour into the United States early in the 19th century and, avoiding the slave states of the south, settled in the north and north-west, ever pushing the frontier westward. About 1833 began an improvement in agricultural arts not only in machinery but also in livestock and grain. In 1833 grain was still sown broadcast and reaped with a cradle or the more primitive sickle.

1

Ibid p. 27

Grain was still threshed with a flail or trodden out by horses and oxen. By 1856 everyone of these operations was done by machinery driven by horses except in the more backward parts of the country. Together with the change in the arts in agriculture there was a large increase in railway mileage bringing the markets of the growing industrialized east closer to the producers in the west. By 1860 there were 30,000 miles of railroad east of the Missouri River.

A liberal land policy favoured settlement. Famines and political disturbances in Europe sent a wave of immigrants to the United States many of whom found their way to the western prairies. There was opportunity for both the landless man and the capitalist. The changes to the South together with a development in the art of agriculture could not but play a part in the further development of the Canadian west.

All this time that settlement was pushing farther west in the United States, the Hudson's Bay Company did nothing to encourage the settlement of its vast domain. Up to 1857 the total land sales at

Red River, the chief center of settlement, scarcely amounted to 13000 - less than 12,000 acres at the minimum price of 5s. exacted by the Company.¹ Without some radical reorganization the company could not hope to cope with the forces that were making themselves every day more evident.

The "Report from the Select Committee" of the British House of Commons in 1857 made it clear that in agricultural settlement was to be found the future of the west. But it was not without a long and tedious process that Rupert's land became transferred to Canada.

The transfer of "North-Western Territory" to the new Dominion in 1870 marked a revolution in administration and land policy. For the new province of Manitoba as well as for the North-West Territories "all ungranted or waste lands" were by statute to be "administered by the Government of Canada for the purposes of the Dominion."²

1

Chester Martin. Dominion Lands Policy p. 215.

2

Ibid p. 469.

These free lands were used to solve the twin problems of the west railways and settlement.

It was early realized that the settlement of the Canadian west would be impossible without an adequate transportation system. Settlers coming to Red River from Canada or overseas followed the Great Lakes down to Duluth, took the railroad to St. Paul, finally following by Red River cart, the 200 mile dirt road to the Red River settlements. It was hard to get in to the country. But the limiting factor was the lack of possible markets.¹

1

"The most important feature of economic life in a colony of newly settled community is its commercial connections with the rest of the world. Upon this more than on any other circumstance depends its prosperity. It may be true, as a great rule that 'the colony of a civilized country which takes possession of the waste country of one so thinly inhabited that the natives easily give place to the new settlers advances more rapidly in wealth and greatness than any other human society.' (Adam Smith), But this progress does not take place unless the colony possesses markets where it can dispose of its staple products. The history of modern colonization does not show a single case where a newly settled country has enjoyed any considerable prosperity, or made notable social progress, without a flourishing commerce with other communities. This dominance is considered the most characteristic feature of colonial economy." (W. A. Mackintosh, Geographic Setting p. 44-45)

To provide a fair standard of living for its settlers in the West it was necessary to export an adequate quantity of a staple product.

It was not till 1878 that Winnipeg was first connected by rail, and it was not till 1885 that the first all-Canada transcontinental line was completed from coast to coast. The construction of the initial transcontinental line, the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific which, during the World War, were taken over by the Dominion Government subsequently were brought together as the Canadian National Railways. These railways did not follow settlement. Rather, settlers anticipated their arrival, or, as usually happened, followed the railways. They served the purpose of opening up a new and comparatively unknown country to agricultural settlement.

The building of the trans-Canada and branch railroads financed by the liberal grants of crown land in the prairie provinces was the dominant feature of Canadian land policy till 1894, the year it was discontinued. But the other cardinal policy - a free homestead system in the interests of rapid settlement was closely associated with it reaching its maximum, however, after 1894.

IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT

The Colony of Canada, (what is now Ontario and Quebec) had followed a fairly aggressive policy in securing immigrants from Europe and the United States at the same time repatriating Canadians who had been induced to settle in the United States. In 1870 Canadian emigration agents were stationed in London, Dublin, Belfast, Glasgow and Antwerp. Later, agents were sent to Germany, Russia, the Scandinavian countries, and other parts of Europe as well as to the United States. The inducement offered was free land.

The type of immigrant preferred from the British Isles was of the tenant class. These usually had some capital to give them a start in a new land, and, with their agricultural experience were valuable additions to Canada. But the landlords in England were antagonistic to emigration. The result was that many of the emigrants were farm laborers who had little or no capital and other destitute persons.¹

1

"It has been found almost without exception that English agricultural labourers with families, the class most desirable to bring to Canada, as well as from being the most in demand as the least likely to

Emigration of the non-agricultural labouring classes was discouraged because, besides being destitute, they would find it difficult to adapt themselves to Canadian conditions.¹

This emigration was directed primarily to what was then Canada. But interest in Manitoba and the North-West was growing. Individuals who had obtained farming experience in the Mid-West were induced to try their hand in Manitoba. Various delegates visited Manitoba to study the prospects there. In the United States, colonies of ex-Canadians were

move after settlement, are, as a rule unable to emigrate without assistance. The wages they have received have not enabled them to support their families and save sufficient money to emigrate. In a very large number of cases, therefore, the Ontario bonus of \$6 has been added to by Dominion Passenger Warrants,^x and the Agricultural Labourer's Unions have subscribed the balance to enable a portion of their numbers to emigrate." (Dom. S. P. No. 8, 1876) *The passenger warrants were to assist adult emigration to Canada. In 1871 they assisted to the extent of \$10 per adult and children by a lesser amount. (Ibid).

1

"The free grants of land in the Province of Ontario possessed a wonderful charm in the minds of many of these people, whose practical knowledge of agriculture in most instances, consisted in the growth of a sprig of geranium in an earthen vessel, or a few sprigs of mignonette in a pan full of mould." (Dom. S. P. No. 65, 1871)

generally opposed to emigrating to Manitoba. In Worcester, Mass., the ex-Canadians "had alone taken the initiative" of seeking information about Canada but in several other centres of Canadian population, where the question had been discussed, the people were quite opposed to emigration towards the Canadian prairies,

"but when the news spread that your Government (of Canada) intended to seriously direct towards Manitoba, a stream of Canadian emigration, and it was seen in operation, opposition ceased, and the news was received with satisfaction."¹

Besides bringing in emigrants from the United States and Europe to Manitoba, the government countenanced the possible removal of groups of settlers in Ontario to Manitoba. In fact, Ontario furnished most of the immigrants to Manitoba in 1877.

The policy followed by foreign Emigration agents may be summed up in the words of Hon. W. Annand, "Chief Emigration Agent for Canada, in London" as follows:

1

Dom. S. P. No. 8, 1876.

" I have in the administration of the affairs of this agency been strictly governed by the 'instructions' and 'policy' in force at the time of my arrival.

"These, as I understand them were: (1) To actively promote, with the assistance of the Special Agents of the Department, home and foreign, the emigration from Great Britain and the continent of Europe, to Canada of desirable persons of the following classes:

Tenant farmers with or without families;
Agricultural Labourers;

Children of a certain age under proper supervision, and persons possessed of capital desirous of finding homes in the Dominion;

" And instead of encouraging, to dissuade as far as practicable, the emigration to Canada under existing circumstances, of mechanics, artisans, tradesman, navvies, ordinary labourers, and persons without means belonging to the non-producing classes."¹

At this later period emphasis was placed on emigration to Manitoba and the North-West. This was assisted by

"the supply.....of large quantities of printed matter addressed to the emigrant classes in respect to all the provinces of the Dominion, but chiefly in regard to Manitoba and the North-West Territories."²

1

Dom. S. P. No. 9, 1878.

2

Dom. S. P. No. 9, 1878.

This tendency to direct emigration to Manitoba and the North-West was influenced by the would-be emigrants themselves.¹

About this time (1878) there was prevailing an agricultural depression throughout the United Kingdom, and coupled with the importation of agricultural products from Canada there was increasing interest, particularly amongst tenants, in emigration to Canada. This was the class chiefly wanted and consequently special efforts were made to obtain them. The immigrants were encouraged to rent land or work as farm labourers before taking up land of their own to get experience.²

1

"The Province, which is the chief attraction at present, is Manitoba. There are large numbers of all classes who have either made up their minds, or are considering the matter of going to some part of the North-West next year, both men with capital and tenant farmers, as well as labourers." (Dom. S.P. No. 9, 1878)

2

"Land may be rented as follows: The landlord provides the land and half the seed; the tenant the labor, implements, horses and half the seed; the landlord receives 1/3 and the tenant keeps 2/3 of the produce for his share of the business." (Dom. S.P. No. 12, 1881)

The following summary of the land system of the different Provinces of the Dominion of Canada was broadcast to prospective immigrants to induce them to Canada:

"In Manitoba and the North-West Territories free grants of 160 acres are given to any head of a family, male or female, or to any person over 18 years of age, on condition of 3 year's settlement from time of entry. For the necessary documents for registration and taking up a free grant the fee is \$10, payable when the title is issued. A person entering for a homestead may also enter the adjoining quarter section (160 acres), if vacant, as a pre-emption right, and enter into immediate possession thereof, and on fulfilling the conditions of his homestead, may obtain a patent for his pre-emption right on payment for the same at the rate of \$1 per acre, if outside of the railroad belts, but if within such belts, at the price of \$2.50 per acre. (10s).

"Free grants of land are also made for the culture of forest trees outside the railway belts, in addition to the homestead, but settlers cannot take up the pre-emption land as well as the grant for the culture of trees.

"The legislature of Manitoba, in 1872, passed a homestead Exemption Law, which in addition to exempting from seizure for debt the debtors goods, as follows:- furniture, tools, farm implements in use, 1 cow, 2 oxen, 1 horse, 4 sheep, 2 pigs, and 30 days' provender for the same; also enacts that his land, to the extent of 160 acres, shall be free from seizure as also the house, stables, barns and fences of the same, in the case of all writs issued by any court in the Province.

"Free grants of from 100 to 200 acres are also made in the Province of Ontario and Quebec on residential conditions, and they also have homestead

exemption laws, but not quite so liberal as of Manitoba. Lands can also be purchased in these provinces at reasonable rates.

"There is also land available for settlement in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and British Columbia on very reasonable terms."¹

This generous distribution of land provided the tenure pattern of the Canadian west of today. As an incentive to settlement and immigration, the free land policy of the Dominion served its purpose. By homestead, pre-emption, grants to the railways, the Hudson's Bay Company, the Dominion disposed of millions of acres. Up to 1928 over 56 million acres of land were transferred to homesteaders, over 5½ million were pre-empted and over 1 million were purchased homesteads. Almost 32,000,000 acres of a surveyed area of over 203½ million was granted to railroads.²

1

Dom. S.P. No. 12, 1881.

2

For a complete picture of the disposition of public lands see table #1.

TABLE I
DISPOSITION OF
SURVEYED AREAS IN MANITOBA, SASKATCHEWAN, AND ALBERTA,
JANUARY, 1928 (1)(2)

	Man. (acres)	Sask. (acres)	Alta. (acres)	Total (acres)
Area under homestead (in- cluding military home- steads).....	8,311,400	29,003,400	19,066,900	56,381,700
Area under pre-emptions (Dominion Lands Act, 1908).	-	3,566,000	2,071,000	5,637,000
Area under purchase home- steads (Dominion Lands Act, 1908).....	-	726,500	306,200	1,032,700
Area under sales.....	2,060,000	1,557,000	755,000	4,372,000
Area of swamp lands disposed of by Manitoba.....	848,000	-	-	848,000
Area granted to University of Manitoba.....	150,000	-	-	150,000
Area under scrip and grant to half-breeds.....	57,100	238,500	115,000	410,600
Area under Manitoba half- breed allotments.....	1,461,400	-	-	1,461,400
Area disposed of under mis- cellaneous headings (3).....	664,700	639,300	243,900	1,548,400
Area granted to railway com- panies.....	3,566,997	15,177,063	13,038,595	31,782,655

TABLE I (Continued)
DISPOSITION OF
SURVEYED AREAS IN MANITOBA, SASKATCHEWAN, AND ALBERTA,
JANUARY, 1928 (1)(2)

	Man. (acres)	Sask. (acres)	Alta. (acres)	Total (acres)
Area granted to Hudson's Bay Company.....	1,273,500	3,351,000	2,402,300	7,026,800
Area of school lands.....	1,637,800	3,944,400	3,760,500	9,342,700
Area sold subject to reclamation by drainage.....	89,762	57,600	39,400	186,762
Area sold for irrigation....	-	77,000	969,800	1,066,800
Area under timber berths (leased).....	1,453,500	607,300	2,131,100	4,191,900
Area under grazing leases...	62,400	3,232,200	2,953,100	6,247,700
Area of forest reserves and parks.....	2,428,500	6,239,000	17,072,100	25,799,600
Area reserved for forestry, park and pulpwood purposes	2,453,000	1,637,000	2,085,000	6,175,000
Area of road allowances.....	977,244	1,468,745	1,288,882	3,734,869
Area of parish and river lots.....	529,087	84,132	121,221	734,440
Area of Indian reserves.....	484,517	1,166,114	1,406,292	3,056,922
Area of Indian reserves surrendered.....	89,006	404,549	329,964	823,519

TABLE I
(Continued)
DISPOSITION OF
SURVEYED AREAS IN MANITOBA, SASKATCHEWAN, AND ALBERTA,
JANUARY, 1928 (1)(2)

	Man. (acres)	Sask. (acres)	Alta. (acres)	Total (acres)
Area of water-covered lands (inside surveyed tract)...	4,260,220	1,904,009	2,296,448	8,460,677
Area undisposed of (sur- veyed).....	4,218,000	3,532,000	15,417,000	23,167,000
TOTAL.....	37,136,133	78,613,310	37,880,701	203,639,144

(1) Chester Martin. Dominion Lands Policy p. 493

(2) Can. Res. Comm. Figures for "Alberta" and "Saskatchewan" include alien-
ations before provincial organization in 1905. Though since revised in many de-
tails these statistics are used for purposes of comparison over the whole period
of "Dominion Lands". A similar tabulation for January 1, 1929, is to be found in
Report of the Department of the Interior, 1930, p. 26, where items 2-9 in the
above list are grouped together. The earlier tabulation is retained for the
added detail.

(3) This category contains minor items such as Pre-emptions granted prior to
1889, Mounted Police Grants, Special Grants, etc.

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF SETTLERS

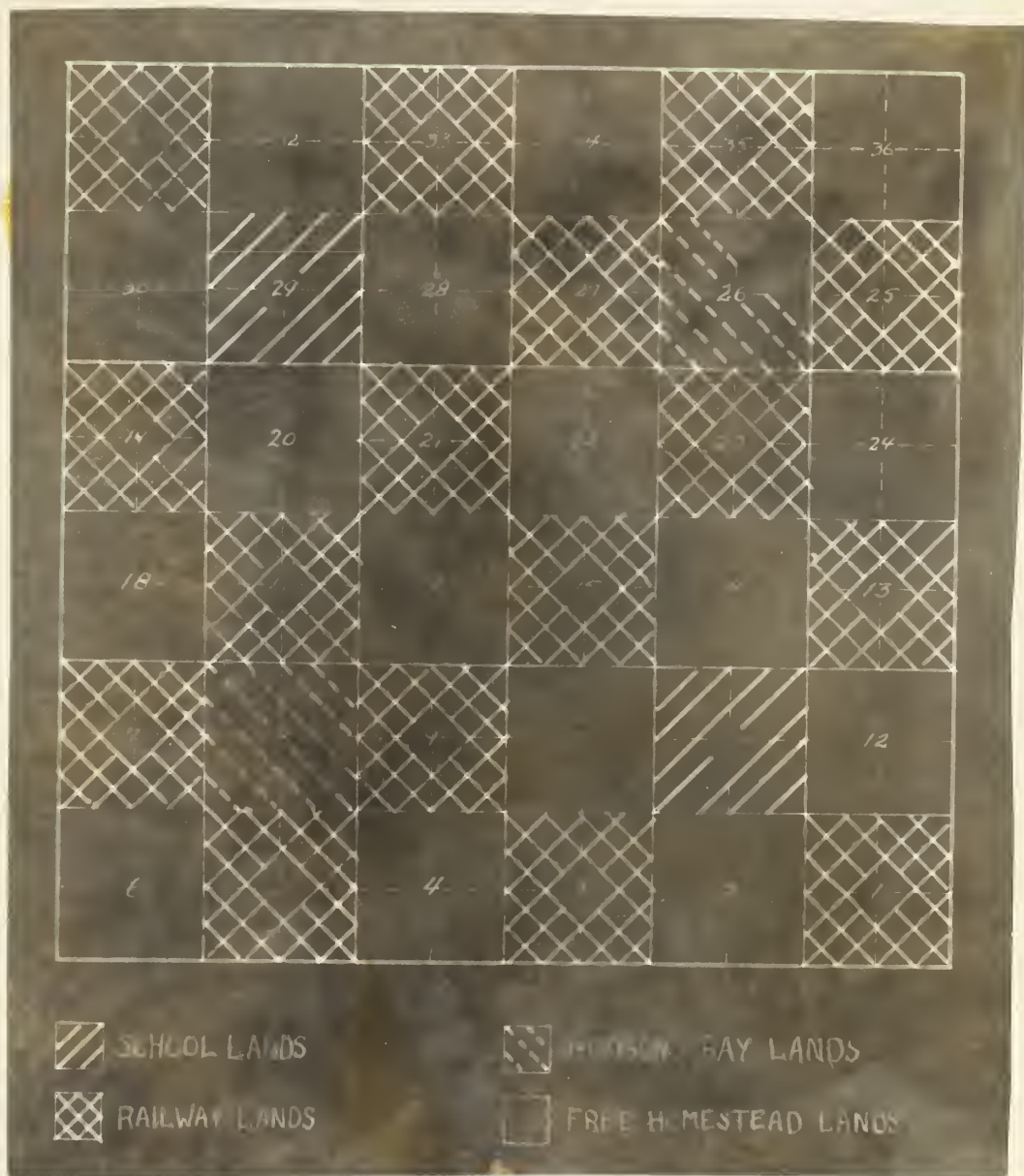
The free land policy of the Dominion Government was a reflection of the desire for agricultural settlement. The results were that a background of proprietorship was developed and the size of the farm was stereotyped by the restrictions of homestead and pre-emption legislation. An additional role was played by the large grants of land to corporations and railways.

The survey of the prairie provinces, a model of simplicity and rigidity, was uniform and integrated, and possible because the whole of the area had been transferred to Canada in a single day. The unit used was the section. An Order-in-Council of April 25, 1871, fixed the section at 640 acres, the same as in the United States, and the Township at 36 sections. It was further decided to number the townships north from the International boundary as the base line and to run the ranges of townships east and west of the Fort Garry Meridian. In Canada the numbering of the 36 sections of the township from the base line at the boundary began from the lower right-hand (south-east) corner of the township instead of the more unnatural

north-eastern corner as in the United States. (See Figure 5)

This survey provided the basis on which incomers could settle - the quarter section (160 acres). It also provided a convenient formula for the distribution of lands into grants. A glance at the diagram (Figure 5) will show that the settler could settle on only the even numbered sections (excluding section 8 and the south half and the north-west quarter of section 26) under the provisions of the Homestead Act. In every township, ^{sections 8 and the quarter of section 26} ~~sections 11 and 29~~ were reserved for the Hudson's Bay Company (the whole of section 26 in every fifth township) and the odd numbered sections (with the exception of sections 11 and 29) were Railway lands, reserved for selection as railway land grants. After the railways had selected their lands, the balance of the odd numbered sections were thrown open for homestead. By this checkerboard distribution of homesteads it was hoped to enhance the value of the adjacent raw railway or school land. But in addition to this it had the effect of dispersing settlement and resulting in costly per capita social services which costs had to be borne by the newly

FIGURE 6.



Disposition of Public Lands *

* Martin, Chester. Dominion Lands' Policy p. 233

created provinces. But it did provide a reserve of land for the settler at a comparatively low price when he was in a position to expand. Also, once the railway lands were selected, the remainder were thrown open to homestead.

Notwithstanding the fact that more than half the land in the fertile belt was not available for immediate homesteading there was more than enough for anyone who would come to settle. It is not surprising that in 1901, the first year for which figures are available, owner-operators predominated on the farms of Western Canada. (Manitoba 88.9%, Saskatchewan 96.1%, Alberta 95.8%. Table II)

The farm tenure pattern from 1901 on has been changing. While proportion of the acreage rented has increased considerably (Table III, Manitoba 8.7% to 27.9%, Saskatchewan 4% to 29.5%, Alberta 10% to 30.9%) the proportion of farm holdings rented has not increased to the same extent. (Table III, Manitoba 10.4% to 18.2%, Saskatchewan 1.6% to 15.4%, Alberta 2.2% to 12.1%). This is partially explained by the increase of the type of farmer known as "part-owner part-tenant" coincident with and partially due to the

change in the size of farm due to changed methods of production. During the period 1901-31 the decrease in percentage of farm holdings owned was 18.8%, 29.6% and 22.8% for the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta respectively. But the increase in rented farm holdings for the same period was only 13.2%, 13.8% and 9.9% respectively. (The peak for rented farms in both Saskatchewan and Alberta was the Census year 1926). This apparent discrepancy is explained by that class of operator, who, while owning some land, rents for varying periods of time.

There is much to be said in favor of an increase in the class of "owner-tenant" operators. Because of changing methods of production, the tendency has been towards larger size farms. Of the three prairie provinces, Manitoba alone has shown no significant change in the size of farm from 1901-31. In Saskatchewan the increase was from 281.6 acres to 407.9 acres and in Alberta from 288.4 acres to 400.1 acres. (Table IV, Number, Area and Size of Farm). At the same time there has been a redistribution of the farmer's investment. The proportion of the value of the farm allotted to land,

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE OF FARM HOLDINGS OPERATED
BY OWNER, TENANT, AND PART-OWNER PART
-TENANT (1)

		Owned	Rented	Part-Owned Part-Rented
		D.C.	D. C.	D. C.
Manitoba	1931	70.1	18.2	11.7
	1926	73.8	17.5	8.7
	1921	82.0	11.4	6.6
	1911	83.4	10.4	6.2
	1901	88.9	5.0	6.1
Saskatchewan	1931	66.5	15.4	18.1
	1926	66.2	17.1	16.7
	1921	77.6	10.8	11.6
	1911	90.6	3.7	5.7
	1901	96.1	1.6	2.3
Alberta	1931	73.0	12.1	14.9
	1926	70.6	14.8	14.6
	1921	80.3	9.7	10.0
	1911	92.0	3.8	4.2
	1901	95.8	2.2	2.0

(1) Census of Canada 1936

TABLE III
PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF FARM ACRES
ACCORDING TO TENURE (1)

		Percentage of Area	
		Owned	Rented
Manitoba	1931	72.1	27.9
	1921	82.1	17.9
	1911	84.4	15.6
	1901	91.3	8.7
Saskatchewan	1931	70.5	29.5
	1921	80.4	19.6
	1911	90.9	9.1
	1901	96.0	4.0
Alberta	1931	69.1	30.9
	1921	81.0	19.0
	1911	88.2	11.8
	1901	89.3	10.7

(1) Census of Canada 1936

TABLE IV
NUMBER, AREA AND AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM, PRAIRIE PROVINCES (1)

	1931	1921	1916	1911	1901
Manitoba					
No. of Farms (no.)	54,199	53,252			
Area of Farms (acres)	15,131,685	14,600,058			
Average Area Per Farm (acres)	279.2	274.2	288.45	263.13	272.14
Saskatchewan					
No. of Farms (no.)	136,472	119,451			
Area of Farms (acres)	55,673,460	43,975,242			
Average Area Per Farm (acres)	407.9	368.1	353.83	297.21	281.62
Alberta					
No. of Farms (no.)	97,408	82,954			
Area of Farms (acres)	38,977,457	29,342,376			
Average Area Per Farm (acres)	400.1	353.5	339.27	288.6	288.39

(1) Census of Canada

buildings and machinery has been almost continually increasing at the expense of the proportion allotted to livestock. (Table V - Percentage Distribution of Value of Farm Property). Of the three prairie provinces the proportion allotted to land was decreased in Manitoba alone. In 1931 all the provinces felt the effect of the depression in generally lowered land values.

The general effect of the redistribution of the values of farm property between land, buildings, machinery and livestock have found it difficult to expand. To cultivate more land and still remain owners necessitates a large outlay for land and machinery. Although complete figures are not available it is evident that for many farm operators the land cultivated is not adjusted to the amount of machinery on hand. In other words, many farmers could operate more land with the machinery available than they do. To expand their holdings by purchase does not appeal to many because of the risk involved. The logical solution appears to be the renting of additional land.

Another factor influencing the renting of land by individuals owning some land is the possibility of

TABLE V

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE
VALUE OF FARM PROPERTY (1)

	Total	Land	Bldgs.	Implements & machinery	Live- stock
	p. c.	p. c.	p. c.	p. c.	p. c.
Manitoba					
1931	100.0	51.6	22.8	14.1	11.5
1921	100.0	59.8	17.7	10.6	11.9
1911	100.0	66.9	13.5	6.0	13.6
1901	100.0	61.6	13.3	8.0	17.1
Saskatchewan					
1931	100.0	60.1	17.6	14.6	7.7
1921	100.0	64.3	13.1	10.7	11.9
1911	100.0	70.1	9.1	6.9	13.9
1901	100.0	51.5	11.6	8.7	28.2
Alberta					
1931	100.0	61.4	15.8	13.4	9.4
1921	100.0	63.0	12.6	10.2	14.2
1911	100.0	70.0	8.2	4.9	16.9
1901	100.0	37.9	10.3	6.3	45.5

(1) Census of Canada 1936.

adjusting the farm operations to the fluctuations in the demand for agricultural products. Except for the fluctuations due to climatic and other vagaries of nature (e.g. insect and disease damage) agricultural production is characterized by rigidity. This is, in the main, due to the large amount of fixed as compared to the variable capital. A substantial amount of the labor used on the farm is also fixed. To overcome this rigidity without a major expenditure (for land) the renting of additional acreage provides a satisfactory solution.

From the preceding discussion one might assume that additions of rented land to farms is made solely for the purpose of expansion of cultivation by the individual farmer. This is of course incorrect. Nowhere is it more convenient to increase one's holdings by renting land than in the expansion of stock raising activities. In fact the reason for the large amount of rented land in the prairie provinces is found in the number of ranchers and rancher-farmers. (Table VI - Average Acreage of Farms According to Tenure). With long term grazing leases available,

TABLE VI
AVERAGE ACREAGE OF FARMS ACCORDING TO
TENURE 1931 (1)

	Owner	Renter	Part-Owner Part-Renter.		
	Owned acres	Rented acres	Total acres	Owned acres	Rented acres
Manitoba	240.0	292.7	407.0	258.2	208.8
Saskatchewan	330.7	391.7	602.9	361.3	331.6
Alberta	291.4	492.7	807.2	378.1	429.1

(1) Census of Canada.

there is a reasonable security of tenure at a low cost. The rancher and rancher-farmer can organize their operations to obtain the maximum of benefit from their holdings at a minimum of capital expenditure. Instead of having money tied up in land, it can be utilized in the improvement of livestock, improvement of their owned parcels of land (irrigation, water development, etc.) and other improvements of a permanent and lasting character.

An examination of the figures in Table VII (Forms of Tenancy by Provinces) reveals that share tenancy as compared to cash tenancy is increasing in favour both absolutely and relatively.¹

1

"Cash renting is a form of renting in which the landlord furnishes only the real estate, usually paying the taxes and the money cost of the upkeep of the farm. The tenant furnishes the working capital, bears all operating expenses, and receives all the income after paying a fixed amount of cash as rent. The landlord usually does not assume any of the risks of the operation of the farm and undertakes no responsibility for management, except such supervision as he may desire to supply to prevent depletion of land and deterioration of improvements." (Farm Tenancy, Report to President, p. 48)

Cash tenancy is adapted to agricultural sections of the country where returns are reasonably certain. But variations in production in the west due to climatic and other causes are a limiting factor in its use. Generally speaking cash leases are preferred by the landlord because of their comparative simplicity and certainty of return. The amount paid is definite and supervision of the landlord is at a minimum. Of 32,718,398 acres rented, 10,335,403 acres are rented on a cash basis. (Table VII - Forms of Tenancy)

The crop share agreement in Western Canada is often really a crop share-cash agreement. It provides that the tenant give the landlord a share of all the grain crops and also pay a cash rent (on an acreage basis) for pasture land. In determining the share of the crop which each party to this form of lease receives, the productivity of the land, the hazard encountered and the contribution each party makes to the production of the crop is taken into consideration. However, local variations due to custom or the presence of some large land owning agency (e.g., the Crown) are often encountered, which determine the terms of the share lease over large areas of land.

TABLE VII
FORMS OF TENANCY BY PROVINCES (1)

		Unit	Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	All Prairie Provinces
TENANTS						
All Tenants						
Number of Farms	1931	no.	9,857	21,044	11,808	42,709
	1921	no.	6,053	12,942	8,072	27,067
Area of Farms						
Area of Farms	1931	acres	2,884,682	8,242,504	5,817,676	16,944,862
	1921	acres	1,956,575	5,034,293	3,151,896	10,142,764
Cash Tenants						
Number of Farms	1931	no.	2,435	2,848	2,685	7,968
	1921	no.	1,481	1,755	2,429	5,665
Area of Farms						
Area of Farms	1931	acres	404,150	1,232,805	2,187,812	3,824,767
	1921	acres	333,967	677,526	867,978	1,879,471
Share Tenants						
Number of Farms	1931	no.	7,167	17,970	9,014	34,151
	1921	no.	4,531	11,164	5,621	21,316
Area of Farms						
Area of Farms	1931	acres	2,397,312	6,925,465	3,560,074	12,882,851
	1921	acres	1,607,355	4,347,769	2,275,802	8,230,926
Cash & Share Tenants						
Number of Farms	1931	no.	255	226	109	590
	1921	no.	41	23	22	86

TABLE VII (Continued)
FORMS OF TENANCY BY PROVINCES (1)

Unit		Manitoba	Saskatchewan	Alberta	All Prairie Provinces
Area of Farms	1931 acres 1921 acres	83,220 15,253	84,234 8,998	67,793 18,116	235,247 32,367
PART OWNERS PART TENANTS					
All Part Owners Part Tenants					
Number of Farms	1931 no. 1921 no.	6,369 3,549	24,737 13,841	14,540 8,253	45,646 25,643
Area of Farms	1931 acres 1921 acres	2,974,229 1,581,856	17,141,336 7,948,951	11,736,774 5,222,111	31,852,339 14,752,918
Area Owned	1931 acres 1921 acres	1,644,350 929,258	8,936,852 4,383,922	5,497,599 2,819,248	16,078,801 8,132,428
Area Rented	1931 acres 1921 acres	1,329,877 652,598	8,204,484 3,565,029	6,239,175 2,402,863	15,773,536 6,620,490
Owners and Cash Tenants					
Number of Farms	1931 no. 1921 no.	1,970 1,048	6,847 3,447	5,291 3,502	14,108 7,997
Area Rented	1931 acres 1921 acres	361,926 178,030	2,982,727 1,076,142	3,165,983 1,248,298	6,510,636 2,502,470
Owners and Share Tenants					
Number of Farms	1931 no. 1921 no.	4,399 2,501	17,890 10,394	9,249 4,751	31,539 17,648
Area Rented	1931 acres 1921 acres	967,951 474,568	5,221,757 2,488,887	3,073,192 1,154,565	9,262,900 4,118,020

(1) Census of Canada 1931

In Alberta Crown land which is rented out under cultivation leases (a form of crop share rental) is really a crop share - cash agreement. Besides paying a share of the crop for the use of the cultivated land the renter pays a cash rent on a per acre basis for the pasture land, if any. This type of cultivation lease would be grouped in the census grouping as a crop share agreement. Thus crop share - cash agreements are not given as prominent a place as they might be.

The share lease form of rental is preferred by many tenants because the risk is less than when renting for cash, especially in areas where crop failures are frequent. The landlord also has more interest in the productivity and maintenance of his land and is likely to pay more attention to the supervision of methods of production, keeping in mind future productivity. The share system of tenancy is generally considered to be more equitable to both landlord and tenant because it more nearly approximates the annual value of the land.

Tables on forms of tenancy in the Prairie Provinces indicate that tenancy is greatly increasing in

number of operators becoming tenants and in the number of operators becoming part-owners part-tenants. The acreage rented by both classes of operators has also increased. (Table VII)

In all cases share tenancy has been by far the most popular. The census of 1931 indicated that 80 percent of the tenants and 69.1 percent of the part-owners part-tenants operated under systems of share tenancy. (Table VIII) Comparing the two census years 1921 and 1931 it is seen that share tenancy is growing in favour.

However, the area rented under a form of cash tenancy is increasing relative to share tenancy. From the year 1921 to 1931 the area rented by cash tenants increased from 18.5% to 22.6% of the total area rented by tenants while the acreage rented by share tenants decreased from 81.2% to 76.0% during the same period. The cash and share tenants increased their acreage during the same period from 0.3% to 1.4%. The situation is similar in the part-owner part-renter group. Although proportionately the number of operators increased in the owner and share tenant group from 57.6% to 63.6% of all the

operators, the area rented decreased from 62.2% to 58.7% of the total area rented. In the owner cash tenant group the number of operators decreased proportionately from 31.2% to 30.9% but the area under a cash form of tenancy increased from 37.8% to 41.3%.

It is perhaps significant that cash tenancy appears to be on the increase in Saskatchewan alone and appears to be on the decrease in Alberta and Manitoba. Similarly share tenancy appears to be decreasing in Saskatchewan while it appears to be increasing in favour in Alberta and Manitoba. More than half the part-owners part tenants in the Prairie Provinces are to be found in Saskatchewan. While Manitoba and Alberta show a 0.1% and 1.3% decrease respectively in the acreage under cash tenancy in the part-owner part-tenant class, Saskatchewan had a 6.2% increase.

Another indication of a possible trend is that Alberta alone of the three western provinces has shown a proportional increase in the numbers of share tenants. This is true not only of the part-owner part-tenant class but also of all tenants.

Table IX showing the average size of farm by

forms of tenancy by provinces illustrates the extent to which operators increase their holdings by renting additional land. In 1931 part owners part tenants rented almost as much land as they owned. In the case of both tenants and part owners part tenants the average size of farm has increased but it is to be noted that the increase in the case of part owners part tenants is due more to the increase in the amount of land rented than the addition of owned land.

TABLE VIII
FORMS OF TENANCY BY PROVINCES*
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

		Manitoba	Sask.	Alta.	All Prov-
		%	%	%	inces %
TENANTS					
All Tenants					
Number of Farms	1931	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	1921	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Area of Farms	1931	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	1921	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Cash Tenants					
Number of Farms	1931	24.7	13.5	22.7	18.6
	1921	24.5	13.5	30.1	20.9
Area of Farms	1931	14.0	15.0	37.6	22.6
	1921	17.1	13.4	27.5	18.5
Share Tenants					
Number of Farms	1931	72.7	85.4	76.4	80.0
	1921	74.8	86.3	69.6	78.8
Area of Farms	1931	83.1	84.0	61.2	76.0
	1921	82.1	86.4	72.2	81.2
Cash & Share Tenants					
Number of Farms	1931	2.6	1.1	0.9	1.4
	1921	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.3
Area of Farms	1931	2.9	1.0	1.2	1.4
	1921	0.8	0.2	0.3	0.3
PART OWNERS PART TENANTS					
All Part Owners Part Tenants					
Number of Farms	1931	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	1921	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Area of Farms	1931	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	1921	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Area Owned	1931	55.3	52.1	46.8	50.5
	1921	58.7	55.2	54.0	55.1
Area Rented	1931	44.7	47.9	53.2	49.5
	1921	41.3	44.8	46.0	44.9
Owners and Cash Tenants					
Number of Farms	1931	30.9	27.7	36.4	30.9
	1921	29.5	24.9	42.4	31.2
Area Rented	1931	27.2	36.4	50.7	41.3
	1921	27.3	30.2	52.0	37.8
Owner and Share Tenants					
Number of Farms	1931	69.1	72.3	63.6	69.1
	1921	70.5	75.1	57.6	68.8
Area Rented	1931	72.8	63.6	49.3	58.7
	1921	72.7	69.8	48.0	62.2

* Compiled from Census of Canada.



TABLE IX
AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM BY FORMS OF
TENANCY BY PROVINCES*

Form of Tenure	Year	Manitoba acres	Sask. acres	Alta. acres	Prairie Provinces acres
TENANTS					
All Tenants					
Area of Farms	1931	293	493	493	397
	1921	323	389	390	375
Cash Tenants					
Area of Farms	1931	166	433	815	480
	1921	226	386	357	332
Share Tenants					
Area of Farms	1931	334	385	395	377
	1921	355	389	405	386
Cash and Share Tenants					
Area of Farms	1931	326	373	622	399
	1921	372	391	369	376
PART OWNERS PART TENANTS					
All Part Owners Part Tenants					
Area of Farms	1931	467	693	807	698
	1921	446	574	633	575
Area Owned					
	1931	258	361	378	352
	1921	262	317	342	317
Area Rented					
	1931	209	332	429	346
	1921	184	257	291	258
Owners and Cash Tenants					
Area Rented	1931	184	436	598	461
	1921	170	312	356	313
Owners and Share Tenants					
Area Rented	1931	220	292	332	294
	1921	190	239	243	233

* Compiled from Census of Canada

Part 2.

THE SPECIAL AREAS

INTRODUCTION

Previous to 1906 there had been little invasion by the settler of that area known as Palliser's triangle. It was recognized that this area was inferior for agricultural purposes to the areas farther north. The land grants selected by the railroads were from the more northerly parts of Saskatchewan and Alberta. Certain blocks of land were selected from the more southerly districts by the Canadian Pacific Railway only after it was persuaded that irrigation was possible. From the standpoint of the settler it was a mistake to build the Canadian Pacific across the southerly parts of the province but national considerations made it imperative that competition south of the International boundary be met. But after 1906, and particularly after 1911, there was a rush of settlers into this area accelerated by a combination of high prices and good crops during the war years.

The Special Areas of Alberta, as they are now called, are all located within Palliser's triangle.

Politically, they are groupings of Municipal and Improvement Districts which were disorganized and consolidated for the purpose of reducing administrative costs. These areas are now administered by a Board called the Special Areas Board. The Tilley East Area, the first of the areas formed, was organized in 1927 and included the old municipal and improvement districts numbers 121, 122, 151, 152, 153, 181, 182 and parts of 211 and 123, or in other words, included an area bounded on the east by the Saskatchewan border, on the west by range 10 (west of 4th meridian), on the south by a line drawn west from the Saskatchewan border between townships 12 and 13 to Medicine Hat, and then following the South Saskatchewan River west to range 10 (west of the 4th meridian), and on the north by the Red Deer River. In 1932 a further area was defined now known as the Berry Creek Special Area and included the old municipal and improvement districts numbers 213, 214, 215, 244, 245, and most of 246. In rapid succession followed Sounding Creek Special Area (I.D. and M.D. numbers 241, 212, 242, 243, 271, 272, 273, and 301) Sullivan Lake Special Area (I.D. and M.D. numbers

274,275,304,305 and Townships 34 - 13 W. of 4th and 34 - 14 west of 4th) Neutral Hills Special Area (I. D. and E.D numbers 302,303, 331, 332, 333 and six townships from 361) and Bow West Special Area (with one complete E.D. number 127, and fractions of I. D. or E. D. numbers 96, 97, 126 and 156). This whole area of approximately 9,000,000 acres is administered under the Special Municipal Areas Act. (Figure VI) Further consolidation and adjustments have been made since the areas were first defined.

The Special Areas Act summarized the reason for the creation of the Special Areas in its preamble saying that:

"....certain areas of the Province include a considerable amount of land which by reason of insufficient rainfall, inferior quality of the soil and other causes, cannot by the use of ordinary methods of agriculture be made to yield over a period of years produce in sufficient amount to provide the persons farming such lands with the means of livelihood; anda large proportion of such lands has been abandoned by settlers and investors due to their inability to secure adequate livelihood or compensation therefrom....." (An Act to Consolidate the Special Areas Act, Chapter 92, 1938)

Fundamentally the reason for the setting up of the Special Areas was to be found in the climatic and other characteristics of the country. From an economy whose chief commodity was livestock it rapidly became one whose chief commodity was wheat. As long as climatic and economic conditions were favorable, settlement in these areas grew. Insufficient and fluctuating returns were disastrous to farmer and investor alike. The chief factor in the economic instability of the country is, of course, the variability of a climate characterized by a lack of moisture. Farmers residing in these areas have aptly summed up the cause of their difficulties in the words "All we need is rain".

The agricultural history of these Areas is largely a record of persistent struggle against drought and various other hazards incidental to farming on the semi-arid plains such as wind erosion, insect pests, and, before the introduction of the early maturing varieties, the added hazard of frost. Soil and climate combine to make wheat the only crop of major importance. If, because of climatic conditions, the wheat crop is small, or because of economic cond-

itions, the prices are low, there is depression.

Up to 1914, the new settlers found little indication that they would encounter difficult times. Many had a reasonable amount of capital. Others found part time employment in mining, lumbering and in the continuing expansion of railway branch lines. Primarily, however, precipitation was such that reasonable, and sometimes bumper crops were produced. But direct and agricultural relief had to be issued for the winter of 1914-15 and the spring of 1915. 1915 and 1916 revived the hopes of the settlers but 1917 again brought drought necessitating the giving of first seed, and then other forms of agricultural relief. From 1918 to 1922, inclusive, agricultural relief was granted by the Province each of these years to almost every municipality in these Areas.¹

In 1920-24 the general situation was aggravated by depressed economic conditions and in 1922, the Drought Area Relief Act was passed to give the settlers some protection against their creditors.

1

Case for Alberta, p. 56.

Followed a succession of better years and it was not until 1930 that a further succession of dry years appeared which necessitated the almost continuous distribution of direct and agricultural relief to the time of writing (1939). The year 1935 was considered to be a "good" year but the average price of wheat was so low that the economic condition of the farmers in the Areas was improved little, if any. The direct loss to the provincial government for the whole of the province including seed grain, other advances and taxes, but not including direct relief and uncollected school taxes was approximately \$20,000,000.¹

The Dominion government has also contributed heavily in an attempt to relieve immediate distress and to put the farm operators on a self sufficient basis. Attempts to relieve immediate distress have usually taken the direction of seed and feed relief in co-operation with the Provincial Government.

In an attempt to alleviate the distress

1

Ibid p. 59

in the drought areas of Western Canada^{caused} by climatic variations, the Dominion government passed the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act in 1935. Immediate assistance was given the farmers by providing funds for the construction of stock watering dams, dugouts and small irrigation projects. This part of the program has already proved its value by storing surplus run-off water for stock watering purposes for periods when natural sources and wells prove to be insufficient.

Basic information is being obtained by soil and economic surveys to assist in the ^{rehabilitation} ~~reconstruction~~ of the drought areas. Further assistance is being given in the form of Agricultural Improvement Associations and scientific research.

CLIMATE

The climate of the Special Areas is characterized by a small annual and crop season precipitation. Most of the Areas have to organize their agricultural activities with the expectation that they will receive a crop season rainfall of less than ten inches. (Table X) Wide fluctuations in annual and crop season precipitation tend to make more difficult the

stabilization of agricultural production. In addition high drying winds and a generally high rate of evaporation tend to make this moisture less effective than in more favored portions of the province. Variations in rainfall and hot drying winds coupled with the frequent occurrence of insect pests, wind damage and other factors tend to make agricultural production hazardous.

SOIL

Soil Surveys conducted by the Department of Soils, University of Alberta, have at various times, surveyed Sheets which form part of the Special Areas. At the present time (1940) the reports on these surveys have already been published, or are being prepared for publication.

A generalized soils map prepared by the Dominion Economics Division from information supplied by the Department of Soils, University of Alberta (Figure 6), indicates the great variety of soils to be found in the Special Areas.

The greater portion of the Areas lie in what is known as the light brown prairie soil belt with smaller portions in the dark brown prairie soil belt.

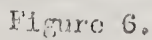


TABLE X
ANNUAL AND CROP SEASON PRECIPITATION
(As of 1936)

Station	No. of Years	Crop Season		Total Fall & Gr. Seas.	Total Annual
		Fall Season	Growing Season		
		Av. Inch	Av. Inch	Av. Inch	Av. Inch
Edmonton	52	4.25	9.01	13.26	17.27 ⁽⁵⁾
Calgary	51	4.40	8.68	13.08	16.60 ⁽⁶⁾
Lethbridge	34	4.19	7.62	11.81	
Medicine Hat	51	3.13	6.65	9.78	12.60 ⁽⁷⁾
Wastina	18	2.96	5.73	8.69	
Sibbald ⁽⁴⁾	6	2.26	6.91	9.17	
Alsask	14			9.36	12.63 ⁽³⁾
Coronation	9	3.01	5.67	8.68	
Naco ⁽⁴⁾	5			7.64	9.70
Cereal	15			7.86	
Youngstown	13				12.49
Empress	12			7.92	
Hanna	19	2.73 ⁽¹⁾	5.9 ⁽²⁾		11.8
Vauxhall	10 ⁽⁸⁾				12.1

(1) 11 years
(2) 14 years
(3) 10 years
(4) Drought Period

(5) 49 years
(6) 48 years
(7) 48 years
(8) 1921 - 1931

The colour of the soil is some indication of its humus content which in turn is some indication of past vegetative growth and past precipitation. The darker the soil the greater is the humus content. The light brown soils are associated with the short grass plains and low precipitation.

The dominant type of soil is loam frequently with "blow out" areas.

Unpublished information on wheat yields collected and analyzed by the Dominion Economics Divisions indicate that the heavier soils are the more productive. The "blow outs" common on many of the soils, tend to reduce their productivity.

POPULATION

The peak^{census} year for population in the Special Areas was 1921. Of 41,050 persons in the Areas 38,588 were classed as rural. (Table XI) The greatest percentage increase in population took place after 1905, soon after the throwing open of land for homesteaders. The total population jumped from 739 persons in 1906 to 19,062 persons in 1911, the greatest actual or proportional increase^{for an intercensal period} the Areas have experienced since statistics have become available.

The population peak was reached in 1921 with 41,050 persons. Except for a slight increase in the census period 1926-1931, population has steadily decreased at an increasing rate. (Tables XII, XIIa)

The Berry Creek Special Area has suffered the greatest depopulation having in 1936 but 31 percent of 1921 peak population of ~~56,50~~^{5,630} persons. Sullivan Lake, closely followed by Neutral Hills suffered the least depopulation.

The brief break in dropping population in the intercensal period 1926 - 1931 when a combination of natural and economic factors tended to brighten the outlook for a time provides some indication of what might happen if resettlement in these areas is not controlled. A rising population indicates increasing settlement. That, in itself, is not necessarily a bad thing. But if that increase is not directed to areas that can absorb a permanent increase in population, which ^{assumes} ~~infers~~ the maintenance of a suitable standard of living, a lowered standard of living will force the inhabitants again to migrate. The money and effort expended in rehabilitation will, to all intents purposes, have gone to waste.

TABLE XI

POPULATION OF SPECIAL AREAS BY CENSUS YEARS (1)
(Bow West does not include fractional townships)

	1936	1931	1926	1921	1916	1911	1906	1901
RURAL								
Sullivan Lake	3925	4492	4027	4946	4101	2693	25	
Neutral Hills	5349	6651	5991	6925	6064	3027	80	
Sounding Creek	5059	7470	7168	9059	7244	3137	47	20
Tilley East	4796	4999	4293	7366	6940	3675	325	169
Berry Creek	1724	2761	2900	5630	4667	2875	115	42
Bow West	3009	3253	2834	4662	4027	3650	147	10
Total	23862	29625	27213	38588	35043	19062	739	241
TOWNS								
Sullivan Lake	38	44	58	109				
Neutral Hills	531	616	502	472	443			
Sounding Creek	750	1134	1131	1221	869			
Tilley East	352	457	573	692	569			
Berry Creek	—	—	—	—	—			
Bow West	270	352	308	440	107			
Total	1941	2603	2572	2934	1988			

TABLE XI (Continued)

POPULATION OF SPECIAL AREAS BY CENSUS YEARS (1)
(Bow West does not include fractional townships)

	1936	1931	1926	1921	1916	1911	1906	1901
TOTAL RURAL AND TOWNS								
Sullivan Lake	3963	4536	4085	5055	4101	2698	25	
Neutral Hills	5349	6651	5991	6925	6064	3027	80	
Sounding Creek	5809	8604	8319	10280	8113	5137	47	20
Tilley East	5148	5456	4866	8058	7509	3675	325	169
Berry Creek	1724	2761	2900	5630	4667	2875	115	42
Bow West	3279	3604	3142	5102	4134	3650	147	10
Total	25272	31612	29303	41050	34588	19062	739	241

(1) Compiled from Census of Canada.

TABLE XII
INCREASE OR DECREASE IN RURAL POPULATION
SPECIAL AREAS OF ALBERTA - BY CENSUS PERIODS. (1)

	DECP FROM 1931-36 1926-31 1921-26 1916-21 1911-16 1906-11 1901-06									
	PER YEAR TO 1936									
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Sullivan Lake	-1021	-567	465	-919	845	1403	2673	25		
Neutral Hills	-1576	-1302	660	-934	861	3037	2974	90		
Sounding Creek	-4000	-2411	302	-1891	1815	4107	3090	27		
Tilley East	-2570	-203	706	-3073	426	3265	2250	156		
Berry Creek	-3906	-1037	-139	-2730	963	1792	2760	73		
Bow West	-1653	-243	418	-1928	685	377	2503	137		
Total	-14,726	-5,763	2,412	-11,875	5,545	13,931	18,323	498		

(1) Compiled from Census of Canada

TABLE XII
(a)

INCREASE OR DECREASE IN RURAL POPULATION
SPECIAL AREAS OF ALBERTA - BY CENSUS PERIODS. (1)

1936 AS DROP FROM 1931-36 1928-31 1921-26 1916-21 1911-16 1906-11 1901-06
%
PEAK YEAR TO 1936

	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sullivan Lake	79	-21	-13	12	-19	21	52	10792	
Neutral Hills	77	-23	-20	11	-13	14	100	36837	
Sounding Creek	56	-44	-32	4	-21	25	130	6574	135
Tilley East	65	-35	-4	16	-42	6	89	1031	92
Berry Creek	31	-69	-38	-5	-48	21	62	2400	174
Bow West	65	-35	-7	15	-39	16	10	2383	137
All Areas	62	-26	-19	9	-29	17	73	2479	207

(1) Compiled from Census of Canada

THE CHANGING PATTERN OF TENURE

The number of owner-operators in the Special Areas has been steadily decreasing as has the number of total operators (Table XIII). Conversely, the number of tenant and part-owner-part-tenant operators have been increasing. Of all operators 77.9 percent owned the land they operated in 1921.(Table XIIIa). The proportion decreased to 49.6 percent in 1931. The decrease was particularly marked in the Areas of greatest population decrease namely Berry Creek and Tilley East. This increase was absorbed largely by the part-owner-part-tenant class again most markedly in Berry Creek and Tilley East.

Coincident with changes in tenure of farm operators there was a marked change in the amounts and proportions of owned and rented land. (Tables XIV, XIVa). There has been a gradual decrease in the amount of owned land and a larger increase in the amount of rented land in all areas, this being most definite in Areas of greatest depopulation. In 1921 only 21.2 percent of the land in farms was rented. By 1931 the proportion had risen to 49.8 percent.

TABLE XIII
TENURE OF FARM OPERATORS BY CENSUS YEARS
1921 - 1931 (1)
SPECIAL AREAS OF ALBERTA

SPECIAL AREAS	CENSUS	OWNER	TENANT	PART-OWNER PART-TENANT	TOTAL
		No.	No.	No.	No.
Sullivan Lake	1931	631	172	325	1128
	1926	524	174	234	932
	1921	924	150	193	1267
Neutral Hills	1931	1089	288	573	1950
	1926	1054	288	456	1798
	1921	1588	166	406	2156
Sounding Creek	1931	1169	314	673	2156
	1926	1123	376	678	2177
	1921	2392	276	332	3000
Berry Creek	1931	327	140	433	900
	1926	451	147	348	946
	1921	1535	123	265	1921
Tilley East	1931	388	239	498	1125
	1926	631	163	243	1037
	1921	1803	218	211	2232
All Special Areas	1931	3604	1153	2502	7259
	1926	3783	1148	1959	6890
	1921	8238	933	1407	10578

(1) Compiled from Census of Canada.

TABLE XIIIa
TENURE OF FARM OPERATORS BY CENSUS YEARS
1921 - 1931 (1)
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
SPECIAL AREAS OF ALBERTA

SPECIAL AREA	CENSUS YEAR	OWNER %	TENANT %	PART-OWNER PART-TENANT %	TOTAL %
Sullivan Lake	1931	56.0	15.2	28.8	100
	1926	56.6	18.7	25.1	100
	1921	73.0	11.8	15.2	100
Neutral Hills	1931	55.8	14.8	29.4	100
	1926	58.6	16.0	25.4	100
	1921	73.5	7.7	18.8	100
Sounding Creek	1931	54.2	14.6	31.2	100
	1926	51.6	17.3	31.1	100
	1921	79.7	9.2	11.1	100
Berry Creek	1931	36.3	15.6	48.1	100
	1926	47.7	15.3	36.8	100
	1921	79.8	6.4	13.8	100
Tilley East	1931	34.5	21.2	44.3	100
	1926	60.9	15.7	23.4	100
	1921	80.8	9.8	9.4	100
All Special Areas	1931	49.6	15.9	34.5	100
	1926	54.9	16.7	28.4	100
	1921	77.9	8.8	13.3	100

(1) Compiled from Census of Canada.

TABLE XIV
OWNED AND RENTED LAND IN FARMS BY CENSUS YEARS
1921 - 1931 (1)
SPECIAL AREAS OF ALBERTA

SPECIAL AREA	CENSUS YEAR	OWNED ACRES	RENTED ACRES	TOTAL ACRES
Sullivan Lake	1931	385,109	192,443	577,552
	1926	282,496	161,448	443,944
	1921	391,148	112,932	504,080
Neutral Hills	1931	686,711	368,184	1,054,895
	1926	513,607	308,719	822,326
	1921	665,085	188,528	853,613
Sounding Creek	1931	817,363	487,043	1,304,406
	1926	719,674	498,751	1,218,425
	1921	987,262	217,564	1,204,826
Berry Creek	1931	333,213	492,382	825,595
	1926	311,475	297,588	609,063
	1921	636,456	180,648	817,104
Tilley East	1931	419,471	1,083,560	1,503,031
	1926	340,779	235,420	576,199
	1921	769,111	230,528	999,639
All Special Areas	1931	2,641,687	2,623,612	5,265,479
	1926	2,168,031	1,501,926	3,669,957
	1921	3,449,062	930,200	4,379,262

(1) Compiled from Census of Canada.

TABLE XIVA
OWNED AND RENTED LAND IN FARMS BY CENSUS YEARS
1921 - 1931 (1)
SPECIAL AREAS OF ALBERTA

SPECIAL AREA	CENSUS YEAR	OWNED %	RENTED %	TOTAL %
Sullivan Lake	1931	66.7	33.3	100
	1926	63.6	36.4	100
	1921	77.6	22.4	100
Neutral Hills	1931	65.1	34.9	100
	1926	62.5	37.5	100
	1921	77.9	22.1	100
Sounding Creek	1931	62.7	37.3	100
	1926	59.1	40.9	100
	1921	81.9	18.1	100
Berry Creek	1931	40.4	59.6	100
	1926	51.1	48.9	100
	1921	77.9	22.1	100
Tilley East	1931	27.9	72.1	100
	1926	59.1	40.9	100
	1921	76.9	23.1	100
All Special Areas	1931	50.2	49.8	100
	1926	59.1	40.9	100
	1921	78.8	21.2	100

(1) Compiled from Census of Canada.

In the meantime the average size of farm had increased from 414 acres to 725 acres, the increase being most evident in the Areas where there has been the greatest increase in rented land. (Table XV).

Tenant operators have increased proportionally more than any other class of operator, the greater proportional increase occurring in the intercensal period 1921 to 1926. The period 1926 to 1931 indicates that tenant occupation of land is not increasing rapidly. However both Berry Creek and Tilley East show an increase, in the latter case a substantial one.

Climatic conditions have made it necessary to conduct farm operations on an extensive scale in these areas. The only cash crop that is commonly grown is wheat. The general rotation followed is wheat, fallow, wheat. Stubbling-in is rarely practised and then only when spring moisture conditions are favorable.

Further, the undependable cash crop - wheat, has made ~~the~~ operator search for other avenues of revenue. Some attempt to increase their income with the sale of cream, butter and eggs. Most, however,

TABLE XV
AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM BY CENSUS YEARS
1921 - 1931 (1)
SPECIAL AREAS OF ALBERTA

SPECIAL AREA	CENSUS YEAR	AVERAGE SIZE ACHES
Sullivan Lake	1931	512
	1926	476
	1921	398
Neutral Hills	1931	541
	1926	457
	1921	396
Sounding Creek	1931	605
	1926	560
	1921	402
Berry Creek	1931	917
	1926	644
	1921	425
Tilley East	1931	1336
	1926	556
	1921	448
All Special Areas	1931	725
	1926	533
	1921	414

(1) Compiled from Census of Canada.

have turned to the raising of cattle and sheep as a source of supplementary revenue. This latter factor accounts, in a large measure, for the large increase in rented land. The leasing of additional grazing land does not involve a large, immediate cash expenditure. Furthermore, it is the only possible manner in which large areas of land that have proven submarginal for wheat production can be profitably utilized.

Thus it appears that the Special Areas of Alberta are adapting their tenure conditions to the peculiar geographic conditions under which they must produce.

TENURE IN THE SPECIAL AREAS OF ALBERTA

Under the provisions of the Prairie Farm Rehabilitation Act, land utilization surveys were started in the drought areas of Southern Alberta. The primary purpose of these surveys was to provide a fund of knowledge which would be useful in the rehabilitation of these areas. The general supervision and conduct of this work was entrusted to the Economics Division of the Dominion Department of Agriculture.

The distressed conditions of the Special Areas indicated that they deserved first attention. Field parties covered Sounding Creek Special Area in the summer of 1936, Sullivan Lake and Neutral Hills Areas in 1937, and Berry Creek and Tilley East Areas in 1938. The Bow West Special Area had been partially covered in 1935¹ but to make ^a ~~the~~ land classification ~~basis~~ comparable to the other Areas, a quarter by quarter study was made in 1938 and 1939.

1

Craig, G. H., and Coke, J. An Economic Study of Land Utilization in Southern Alberta.

In the Special Areas of Sullivan Lake, Neutral Hills, Berry Creek, Tilley East and Sounding Creek an attempt was made to obtain as complete information as possible from each farm operator as to his farm holdings, assets and liabilities, receipts, and information regarding the farm operator and his family. This information was supplemented by information from tax and relief rolls. Bow West Special Area was not covered in the same detail and comparable information is not available.

Information presented in the following sections is compiled from the farm records obtained in the different survey years. It will be noted that the number of operators for each Area is not consistent in the different analyses. Lack of complete records from each farm operator is responsible for this.

An attempt was made to make the information presented for the different areas strictly comparable but this was not altogether possible. The record forms used in the different years were different and emphasis was placed on different items. To date a preliminary report on the Sounding Creek Special Area has been published and a summary report for all the Special

Areas of Alberta is in the process of preparation.¹

TERMINOLOGY

Land Utilization Surveys in the Special Areas of Alberta have found it necessary to adopt a terminology that is perhaps confusing to one who has not been connected with the work. Almost every farm operator for instance, rents some grazing land. If classified according to the census they would be operators who owned some land and rented some and would be classed as part owners part renters. The person who owned some land and rented some for cultivation purposes would also be classed as a part owner part renter.

It was thought that a classification adapted to conditions in the Special Areas would be more useful in analysis than one which has been found useful over the whole of the Dominion. The chief difficulty found is that the statistics compiled are not strictly comparable with those of Census reports.

1

A Preliminary Report on the Classification of Land in the Sounding Creek Special Area: Economics Branch, Federal Department of Agriculture.

The operator tenure classes adopted for the Special Areas were:

1. Owner
2. Owner-Renter
3. Renter
4. Squatter

In 1938 a fifth class was adopted, that of "Company" in cases where various institutions or corporations were operating agricultural enterprises. Only one such case was found - a ranch in Berry Creek.

The "owner" is defined as an operator who owns all the land he cultivates. He may rent land for grazing purposes but not for purposes of cultivation. In this class would appear two groups:

1. The operator who owns all of his land.
2. The owner who owns some land but leases additional land for grazing purposes.

The "owner-renter" is defined as an operator who, in addition to owning some land, increases his holdings for purposes of cultivation by renting. He may or may not lease land for grazing purposes. Here also would appear two groups:

1. The operator owns some land and rents the balance of his farm unit for purposes of cultivation.

2. The operator owns some land, rents some for purposes of cultivation and leases the balance of his farm unit for grazing purposes.

The "renter" operator rents all the land he operates. This class also includes a number of different groups:

1. The operator rents all his land for purposes of cultivation.
2. The operator rents some land for purposes of cultivation and leases some for grazing purposes.
3. The operator leases all his land for purposes of grazing.

The "squatter" group is not common. It includes only those operators that have no legal right to any of the land they occupy. They do not hold title to their land nor do they occupy it under any agreement whatsoever. This class is composed largely of families who occupy vacant farmsteads or operators who, in spite of non-payment of taxes or non-renewal of leases - have yet stayed on the land. The squatter class do

not own land nor do they lease it. Their small number makes them an unimportant part of the economy of the Special Areas.

TENURE OF OPERATOR

Except for Sounding Creek Special Area the distribution of tenure groups shows a marked similarity between the different Areas. (Table XVI) The owner group is the predominant tenure group, closely followed by the part owner (owner renter) group. The Squatter and Company groups form a very small proportion of the total number of operators in the Special Areas.

NATIONALITY OF OPERATOR

The nationality of the operator does not seem to follow any tenure groupings. In Sullivan Lake, Neutral Hills and Berry Creek, the owners are predominantly of British origin. (Table XVII) In Tilley East they are predominantly of North and West European origin.

TABLE XVI
(a)

TENURE OF OPERATOR
SPECIAL AREAS OF ALBERTA

TENURE	1	1	2	3	3	
	SULLIVAN LAKE	NEUTRAL HILLS	SOUNDING CREEK	BERRY CREEK	TILLEY EAST	ALL
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Owner	336	496	418	158	375	1783
Part Owner	258	347	658	123	295	1661
Renter	128	184	172	76	160	720
Squatter	7	8	1	13	3	32
Unknown	2	3	2	2	19	28
Company				1		1
ALL	711	1038	1251	373	852	4225

(b)

TENURE OF OPERATOR
SPECIAL AREAS OF ALBERTA
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

TENURE	1	1	2	3	3	
	SULLIVAN LAKE	NEUTRAL HILLS	SOUNDING CREEK	BERRY CREEK	TILLEY EAST	ALL
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Owner	47	48	33	42	44	42
Part Owner	34	34	53	33	35	39
Renter	18	18	14	20	19	17
Squatter	1	1	*	4	*	1
Unknown	*	*	*	1	2	1
Company				*		*
ALL	100	100	100	100	100	100

* Less than 0.5%

- 1. 1937
- 2. 1936
- 3. 1938

TABLE XVII
(a)
NATIONALITY OF OPERATOR BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

SULLIVAN LAKE. 1937

**									
NATIONALITY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X	TOTAL
Tenure of	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Operator									
Owner	1	55	2	10	25	4		3	336
Owner Renter *		36	3	8	40	12	*	1	238
Renter	3	34	1	10	46	5		1	128
Squatter		57			29			14	7
ALL	1	45	2	9	34	7	*	2	709

* Less than 0.5%

**

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Canadian | 5. North and West Europe |
| 2. Other British | 6. South and East Europe |
| 3. U. S. A. | 7. Other |
| 4. Scandinavian | X. Unknown |

TABLE XVII
(b)

NATIONALITY OF OPERATOR BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

NEUTRAL HILLS

**									
NATIONALITY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Owner	2	52	1	20	18	7	*	*	495
Owner Renter	1	52	*	15	20	12		*	347
Renter	4	36		16	31	13			185
Squatter	12	38					50		8
Unknown		100							1
ALL	2	49	*	17	21	10	1	*	1036

* Less than 0.5%

**

1. Canadian

2. Other British

3. U. S. A.

4. Scandinavian

5. North and West Europe

6. South and East Europe

7. Other

X. Unknown

TABLE XVII
(c)

NATIONALITY OF OPERATOR BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

BERRY CREEK. 1938

**									
NATIONALITY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Owner	5	46	8	14	12	3	2	10	158
Owner Renter	1	50	6	17	20	4	1	1	123
Renter	3	48	5	16	20	4		4	76
Squatter		31	8	15	15			31	13
ALL	3	47	7	16	16	3	1	7	370

**

1. Canadian

2. Other British

3. U. S. A.

4. Scandinavian

5. North and West Europe

6. South and East Europe

7. Other

X. Unknown

TABLE XVII
(d)

NATIONALITY OF OPERATOR BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

TILLEY EAST. 1938

xx								
NATIONALITY	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Owner	2	19	4	17	47	5		6
Owner Renter	1	19	5	24	45	5		1
Renter	3	17	4	14	52	9		1
Squatter								100
ALL	2	19	4	18	47	6		4
								834

xx

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Canadian | 5. North and West Europe |
| 2. Other British | 6. South and East Europe |
| 3. U. S. A. | 7. Other |
| 4. Scandinavian | X. Unknown |

In the Sullivan Lake and Tilley East Areas the owner renters are predominantly of North and West European origin. In Neutral Hills and Berry Creek they are of British origin. Information was not available for Sounding Creek.

There does not however appear to be any relationship between the nationality and the tenure condition of the operator. It is more likely to be a result of the predominance of one type of nationality in an area.

BIRTHPLACE OF OPERATOR

In all Areas the majority of operators were born outside of Canada. (Table XVIII) However about half the operators were born in North America. Tilley East shows a predominance of operators who immigrated with their parents or immigrated here themselves. It is to be noted that there is little difference in nationality (Table XVII) or place of birth (Table XVIII) between owners and owner renters. However, of the operators born in Alberta the greater percentage were renters. Information was not available for Sounding Creek.

This provides the rather disturbing indication

TABLE XVIII
(a)

BIRTHPLACE OF OPERATOR BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

SULLIVAN LAKE.. 1937

BIRTH- xx PLACE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	0	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Owner	1	24	26	23	7	4	13	*		2	336
Owner	7	15	13	28	4	5	26	1	1		238
Renter											
Renter	12	19	14	15	5	5	29		1		128
Squatter	14		57			14				14	7
ALL	5	20	20	23	6	5	20	*	1	*	709

* Less than 0.5%

~~xx~~

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Alberta | 6. North and West Europe |
| 2. Elsewhere in Canada | 7. South and East Europe |
| 3. Britain | 8. Other |
| 4. U. S. A. | X. Unknown. |
| 5. Scandinavia | |

TABLE XVIII
(b)

BIRTHPLACE OF OPERATOR BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

NEUTRAL HILLS. 1937

BIRTH- PLACE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	0	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Owner	1	25	21	21	14	4	13	*	*	*	495
Owner	3	23	22	20	10	2	20			*	347
Renter											
Renter	10	18	13	21	10	3	24	1			185
Squatter		12	25	13						25	8
Unknown		100									1
ALL	3	23	20	20	12	3	18	*	*	1	1036

* Less than 0.5%

**

- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Alberta | 6. North and West Europe |
| 2. Elsewhere in Canada | 7. South and East Europe |
| 3. Britain | 8. Other |
| 4. U. S. A. | X. Unknown |
| 5. Scandinavia | |

TABLE XVIII
(o)

BIRTHPLACE OF OPERATOR BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

BERRY CREEK. 1938

BIRTH- PLACE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Owner	1	32	20	25	7	3	2	2	8	158
Owner		32	19	29	10	4	3	1	2	123
Renter										
Renter	10	25	17	25	8	3	8		4	76
Squatter		31	7	23	8				31	13
ALL	2	30	18	26	8	3	4	1	6	370

xx

- | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Alberta | 6. North and West Europe |
| 2. Elsewhere | 7. South and East Europe |
| 3. Britain | 8. Other |
| 4. U. S. A. | X. Unknown |
| 5. Scandinavia | |

TABLE XVIII
(d)
BIRTHPLACE OF OPERATOR BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

TILLEY EAST. 1938

BIRTH- xx PLACE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Owner	3	13	12	21	9	4	31		7	376
Owner	3	11	9	26	14	4	31		2	295
Renter										
Renter	20	11	6	20	10	5	27		1	160
Squatter									100	3
ALL	7	12	10	22	11	4	30		4	834

~~xx~~

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Alberta | 6. North and West
Europe |
| 2. Elsewhere | 7. South and East
Europe |
| 3. Britain | 8. Other |
| 4. U. S. A. | X. Unknown |
| 5. Scandinavia | |

that sons of operators now in the Areas, if they wish to become farmers and remain in the districts in which they live will not be able to ^{farm} their own farms. Their fathers before them homesteaded the country and assumed the status of owners. Now no homesteads are available. It appears that the proportion of owner operators can be maintained only by an influx of new settlers in a position to purchase land. However, at the present time, the possibility appears remote.

The predominant place of Alberta born operators in the tenant class shows that, in the Special Areas there appears to be little likelihood of tenants ascending the agricultural ladder and assuming the status of owners. However, it may be that operators born in Alberta, who must still be comparatively young, have but lately started farming on their own, and it will be some time before they are in a position to purchase land.

PREVIOUS OCCUPATION OF OPERATOR

The greater proportion of operators in the Special Areas have always been farmers. (Table XIX) There do not appear to be marked differences between the different tenure classes as to previous occupation. There

TABLE XIX
(a)

PREVIOUS OCCUPATION OF OPERATOR BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

SULLIVAN LAKE. 1937

PREVIOUS * OCCUPATION	1	2	3	4	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	No.
Owner	65	11	6	15	3	336
Owner	70	8	7	14	1	238
Renter	81	5	3	10	1	128
Renter	14		14	43		7
Squatter						
ALL	69	9	6	14	2	709

*

1. Farming

2. Urban skilled

3. Urban unskilled

4. Railway, mining and all other

X. Unknown

TABLE XIX
(b)

PREVIOUS OCCUPATION OF OPERATOR BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
NEUTRAL HILLS. 1937

PREVIOUS ** OCCUPATION	1	2	3	4	0	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	No.
Owner	64	21	2	12	*	1	495
Owner	68	20	3	9		*	347
Renter							
Renter	81	10	2	7			185
Squatter	38	12		12	38		8
Unknown		100					1
ALL	68	19	2	10	*	1	1036

* Less than 0.5%

1. Farming

2. Urban skilled

3. Urban unskilled

4. Railway, mining and all other

0. Unknown

X. Unknown

TABLE XIX

(c)

PREVIOUS OCCUPATION OF OPERATOR BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

BERRY CREEK. 1938

PREVIOUS * OCCUPATION	1	2	3	4	5	6	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	No.
Owner	60		1	8	19	3	9	153
Owner	69		2	6	20	2	1	123
Renter								
Renter	78			3	13	1	5	76
Squatter	62				23		15	13
ALL	67		1	6	18	2	6	370

**

1. Farming only

5. No farming plus urban
manual2. Farming plus urban
sedentary

6. Seasonal operator

3. Farming plus urban
manual

X. Unknown

4. No farming plus urban
sedentary

TABLE XIX
(d)

PREVIOUS OCCUPATION OF OPERATOR BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

TILLEY EAST. 1938

PREVIOUS** OCCUPATION	1	2	3	4	5	6	0	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	No.
Owner	74		4	4	8	3	*	7	376
Owner	80		3	5	9	1		2	295
Renter									
Renter	85		3	1	6	1		4	160
Squatter						33		67	3
ALL	78		3	4	8	2	*	5	834

* Less than 0.5%

**

1. Farming only

2. Farming plus urban sedentary

3. Farming plus urban manual

4. No farming plus urban sedentary

5. No farming plus urban manual

6. Female operator

X. Unknown

is some indication however, that farmers do not readily leave the occupation of farming if they have always been farmers. This is likely true of other occupations as well. The owner operator appears to readily accept a tenant status rather than seek some other occupation.

NUMBER OF OPERATORS PER FARM

The information presented on number of operators per farm indicates the number of operators that have ^{successively} made a particular parcel of land their home quarter i. e. the quarter on which their farm buildings are located. No attempt was made to obtain the number of operators of parcels of land other than home quarters.

As would be expected in a territory as newly settled as the Special Areas the majority of owned farms have had but one operator. (Table XX) The number of operators per farm increases slowly as one moves from the owner to the owner renter and sharply when one moves to the renter classes. Few rented farms remain in the hands of one operator for any length of time. This indicates the instability of a tenant's existence. Expansions and improvements are not planned and are not made.

TABLE XX
(a)

NUMBER OF OPERATORS PER FARM BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

SULLIVAN LAKE.

NO. OF OPERATORS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Owner	50	27	12	4	3	1	1	*	2	336
Owner	36	33	15	9	4	1	1	*	1	238
Renter										
Renter	7	23	30	20	13	2	3	1	1	128
Squatter	14	14	14		14				43	7
ALL	38	29	16	9	5	1	1	*	1	709

* Less than 0.5%

X Unknown.

TABLE XX
(b)

NUMBER OF OPERATORS PER FARM BY TENURE

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

NEUTRAL HILLS.

NO. OF OPERATORS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Owner	63	21	9	3	2	1	★		1	495
Owner	50	29	11	4	2	1	1	1	1	347
Renter										
Renter	3	30	30	19	8	6	★		4	185
Squatter	25	12	12						51	8
Unknown		100								1
ALL	46	25	14	6	3	2	1	1	2	1036

★ Less than 0.5%

X Unknown

TABLE XX
(c)

NUMBER OF OPERATORS PER FARM BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

BERRY CREEK.

NO. OF OPERATORS	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Owner	65	18	4	1	3			9	158
Owner	63	26	6	2	1			2	123
Renter	28	28	22	9	5	3	1	4	76
Renter									
Squatter	15	24	8	15				38	13
ALL	55	23	8	4	2	1	*	7	370

* Less than 0.5%

X Unknown

TABLE XX
(a)
NUMBER OF OPERATORS PER FARM BY TENURE
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

TILLEY EAST.

NO. OF OPERATORS	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	X	TOTAL
Tenure of Operator	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Owner	50	28	6	2	1	1			*	12	376
Owner	54	27	7	3	1	1				7	295
Renter											
Renter	9	38	15	12	3	1	1	1		20	160
Squatter		33								67	3
ALL	44	30	8	4	1	1	*	*	*	12	834

* Less than 0.5%

X Unknown

There is no incentive for the tenant to do so. Appearance of a possible improvement by moving to some other farm (especially in areas where a comparative abundance of vacant land is found) is enough to induce the tenant to change his location.

Another factor which may be a cause of mobility amongst tenants in the Special Areas is that the better classes of land are operated by owner and owner tenants. The better classes of land provide the means of retaining ownership in a particular parcel and provide an inducement for remaining by providing a higher standard of living.

In most of the areas there is little difference in the number of operators per farm between the owner operator and the owner renter.

AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY

The average size of family differs little between the different Areas. (Table XXI) The average size of family appears to be generally larger in the owner renter class and smaller in the squatter class. The renter operator generally has a larger family than the owner operator. On the basis of the information presented (Table XXI) there appears to be little reason for the size of family to influence the tenure status of the operator.

TABLE XXI
(a)AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
SULLIVAN LAKE.

TENURE	NO. OF OPERATORS	TOTAL POPULATION	AVERAGE SIZE
Tenure of Operator			
Owner	329	1232	3.7
Owner Renter	236	1050	4.4
Renter	126	554	4.4
Squatter	6	23	3.8
Unknown			
ALL	697	2859	4.1

TABLE XXI
(b)AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
NEUTRAL HILLS.

TENURE	NO. OF OPERATORS	TOTAL POPULATION	AVERAGE SIZE
Tenure of Operator			
Owner	486	1836	3.8
Owner Renter	344	1587	4.6
Renter	181	732	4.0
Squatter	5	14	2.8
Unknown	1	7	7.0
ALL	1017	4176	4.1

TABLE XXI
(c)

AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

HERRY CREEK

TENURE	NO. OF	TOTAL	AVERAGE
Tenure of Operator	OPERATORS	POPULATION	SIZE
Owner	348	1466	4.2
Owner Renter	290	1302	4.5
Renter	156	508	3.3
Squatter	1	X	X
ALL	795	3276	4.1

TABLE XXI
(d)

AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

TILLEY EAST.

TENURE	NO. OF	TOTAL	AVERAGE
Tenure of Operator	OPERATORS	POPULATION	SIZE
Owner	143	398	2.8
Owner Renter	118	409	3.5
Renter	70	275	3.9
Squatter	10	16	1.6
ALL	341	1098	3.2

X. Unknown

TENURE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS

In most of the Areas the proportion of land that is presumably cultivated (owned and rented) and the proportion that is leased for grazing purposes varies little between the different operator tenure groups. (Table XXII, XXIII) This indicates that there is little difference in the types of farming followed by the different tenure classes.

In Sullivan Lake, Neutral Hills and Sounding Creek, Special Areas, at the time the Surveys were made, about half of the occupied parcels of land were owned and the remainder were about evenly divided between rented and leased parcels. In Berry Creek and Tilley East Special Areas the majority of parcels were leased for grazing, indicating that the raising of livestock played a more important part here than in the Areas surveyed in 1936 and 1937.

In Sounding Creek Special Area the owner renter group showed an appreciably larger proportion of leased grazing land than did the other tenure groups. This would indicate that the owner-renters attempted to increase their revenue not so much by renting more land ^{for cultivation} but by raising livestock. The proportion of

TABLE XXII
(a)

TENURE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
SULLIVAN LAKE. 1937

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL FARM.	QTRS. SQUATTED
		No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Owner	336	1014		359	1373	42
Owner Renter	238	714	518	231	1463	38
Renter	128	4	353	81	438	14
Squatter	7					8
ALL	709	1732	871	671	3274	102

TABLE XXII
(b)

TENURE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

NEUTRAL HILLS. 1937

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL FARM
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Owner	485	1573		548	2121
Owner Renter	344	925	766	529	2219
Renter	169	1	506	153	660
Squatter	5			1	1
Unknown	1	6			6
ALL	1004	2505	1272	1231	5007

TABLE XXII
(c)

TENURE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
SOUNDING CREEK. 1936

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL FARM
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Owner	404	1339	9	83	1431
Owner Renter	646	2205	915	1428	4548
Renter	167	28	455	70	553
Squatter	1				
ALL	1218	3572	1379	1581	6532

TABLE XXII
(d)

TENURE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

BERRY CREEK. 1938

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL FARM	QTRS. SQTD.
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Owner	137	653	3	1531	2187	1
Owner	119	283	280	1325	1888	10
Renter						
Renter	72	8	192	464	664	4
Squatter	7					23
ALL	335	944	475	3320	4739	38

TABLE XXII
(e)

TENURE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

TILLEY EAST. 1938

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL FARM	QTRS. SQTD.
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Owner	325	1697	6	1370	3073	18
Owner	282	1147	476	1404	3027	6
Renter						
Squatter	151	6	394	394	794	4
ALL	758	2850	876	3168	6894	28

TABLE XXIII
(a)TENURE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
SULLIVAN LAKE, 1937

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL FARM
	No.	%	%	%	%
Owner	336	74		26	100
Owner	238	49	35	16	100
Renter					
Renter	128	1	81	18	100
Squatter	7				
ALL	709	53	27	20	100

TABLE XXIII
(b)TENURE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
NEUTRAL HILLS, 1937

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL FARM
	No.	%	%	%	%
Owner	485	74		26	100
Owner	344	42	34	24	100
Renter					
Renter	169		77	23	100
Squatter	5			100	100
Unknown	1	100			100
ALL	1004	50	25	25	100

TABLE XXIII
(c)

TENURE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

BERRY CREEK. 1938

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL FARM.
	No.	%	%	%	%
Owner	137	30	2	70	100
Renter	119	15	15	70	100
Owner					
Renter	72	1	29	70	100
Squatter	7				
ALL	335	20	10	70	100

TABLE XXIII
(d)

TENURE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

TILLEY EAST. 1938

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL FARM.
	No.	%	%	%	%
Owner	325	55	2	45	100
Owner	292	38	16	46	100
Renter					
Renter	151	1	50	50	100
Squatter					
ALL	758	41	13	46	100

TABLE XXIII
(e)

TENURE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

SOUNDING CREEK. 1936

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL FARM.
	No.	%	%	%	%
Owner	404	94	1	6	100
Owner Renter	646	49	20	31	100
Renter	167	5	82	13	100
Squatter	1				
ALL	1218	55	21	24	100

owned land for this group did not differ much from the Sullivan Lake and Neutral Hills areas.

AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM

Information compiled on the average size of farm in the Special Areas indicates that there is little difference between owner operators and renters. (Table XXIV) In all cases (except Tilley East and Berry Creek) they were the same in their respective Areas. The similarity shows up more markedly when it is seen that the number of quarters leased for grazing purposes is the same. The number of quarters owned by owner operators, presumably used for cultivation purposes and the number of quarters rented for cultivation purposes by renters are also the same.

In all Areas the size of the owner renter's farm was the largest. The greater size is due chiefly to additional quarters rented for purposes of cultivation. It would appear that the greater size is due to a desire to adapt the size of the farm to the equipment the farmer has available. It is also no doubt due to a desire to increase revenue on the part of the operator.

TABLE XXIV
(a)

AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM BY TENURE OF OPERATOR¹

SULLIVAN LAKE. 1937

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL OP.	QTRS. SQTD.
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Owner	336	3		1	4	*
Owner	238	3	2	1	6	*
Renter						
Renter	128		3	1	4	*
Squatter	7					1
ALL	709	3	1	1	5	*

TABLE XXIV
(b)

AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM BY TENURE OF OPERATOR¹

NEUTRAL HILLS. 1937

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL OP.	QTRS. SQTD.
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Owner	493	3		1	4	*
Owner	347	3	2	2	7	*
Renter						
Renter	185		3	1	4	
Squatter	8			*	*	1
Unknown	1	6			6	
ALL	1034	3	1	1	5	*

* Less than 0.5 quarters

¹ Rounded to nearest quarter.

TABLE XXIV
(c)

AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

BERRY CREEK. 1938

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL OP.	QTRS. SQTD.
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Owner	137	5		11	16	x
Owner	119	2	2	11	16	x
Renter						
Renter	72	x	3	6	9	x
Squatter	7					3
ALL	335	3	1	10	14	x

TABLE XXIV
(d)

AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

TILLEY EAST. 1938

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL OP.	QTRS. SQTD.
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Owner	325	5		4	9	x
Owner	282	4	2	5	11	x
Renter						
Renter	151		3	3	6	x
ALL	758	4	1	4	9	x

x Less than 0.5 quarters.

1. Rounded to nearest quarter.

TABLE XXIV
(e)

AVERAGE SIZE OF FARM BY TENURE OF OPERATOR¹

SOUNDING CREEK. 1936

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	QTRS. OWNED	QTRS. RENTED	QTRS. LEASED	TOTAL OP.
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Owner	404	3		*	3
Owner	646	3	2	2	7
Renter					
Renter	167		3	*	3
Squatter	1				
ALL	1218	3	1	1	5

* Less than 0.5 quarters

1. Rounded to nearest quarter

NET WORTH AT START

Information was compiled for the net worth at the start of operation of the presently occupied farm for the different tenure classes for Sullivan Lake, Neutral Hills and Sounding Creek. Net worth includes the value of machinery, livestock, supplies and household equipment besides cash on hand. Owner operators are seen to have started with the largest net worth.

(Table XXV) Tenants generally started operations with the lowest net worth. Two points of view may be brought forward to explain the latter statement. One is that, having insufficient capital to become an owner, an individual starts at the bottom of the agricultural ladder and is willing to work his way up to the status of owner. The other is that the operator may have originally started farming as an owner operator but due to a variety of reasons, has sunk to the status of a tenant. Information was not obtained as to the number of different farms the individuals had operated but the indicated mobility

(Table XX) suggests that the latter might be the more important reason. It has been shown in preceding discussions (p.85) that tenancy is an the increase

TABLE XXV
(a)

AVERAGE NET WORTH AT START BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

SULLIVAN LAKE. 1937

TENURE OF OPERATOR	NO. OF OPERATOR	AVERAGE NET WORTH \$
Owner	336	3,144
Owner Renter	238	2,464
Renter	128	1,170
Squatter	7	1,386
ALL	709	2,542

TABLE XXV
(b)

AVERAGE NET WORTH AT START BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

NEUTRAL HILLS. 1937

TENURE OF OPERATOR	NO. OF OPERATOR	AVERAGE NET WORTH \$
Owner	493	1,832
Owner Renter	347	1,760
Renter	185	755
Squatter	8	150
Unknown	1	
ALL	1034	1,600

TABLE XXV

(c)

AVERAGE NET WORTH AT START BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

SOUNDING CREEK. 1936

<u>TENURE OF</u> <u>OPERATOR</u>	<u>NO. OF</u> <u>OPERATOR</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u> <u>WORTH NET</u>
		\$
Owner	376	2,803
Owner Renter	624	2,598
Renter	162	1,133
ALL	1162	2,460

in Western Canada while the proportion of owner operators is steadily decreasing. A large proportion of these operators are being absorbed into the tenant ranks with few assets beside household furniture livestock and machinery, the latter often in serious need of repair. With ^{depressed} economic conditions prevalent throughout the Special Areas for many years, it is likely true that the lower net worth at start for tenants is, in a large measure, due to the sinking of owners with few assets, to the status of tenants.

AVERAGE ASSETS PER OPERATOR

Assets of individual operators in Sullivan Lake and Neutral Hills Areas were grouped under the headings of livestock, machinery, supplies, car, house furnishings and others..(Tables XXVI (a), XXVI (b)) In Berry Creek and Tilley East Areas house furnishings were included under the headings of other. (Tables XXVI (b) XXVI (c)) Only total assets were compiled for Sounding Creek. The average assets do not include the value of land operated. In most areas the owner renter tenure group had the largest average assets. In Berry Creek however, the owner group had the largest average assets per operator.

TABLE XXVI

(a)

AVERAGE ASSETS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE

SULLIVAN LAKE. 1937

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	AV. LIVE- STOCK	MACH- INERY	SUP- PLIES	CAR	FURN- ISHINGS	OTHER	TOTAL
		\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Owner	329	1014	694	545	115	235	689	2792
Owner	236	1234	936	46	125	266	533	3190
Renter	126	720	401	11	63	141	97	1433
Squatter	6	504	134	1		71	333	1045
ALL	697	1048	718	39	108	227	526	2666

TABLE XXVI

(b)

AVERAGE ASSETS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE

NEUTRAL HILLS. 1937

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	AV. LIVE- STOCK	MACH- INERY	SUP- PLIES	CAR	FURN- ISHINGS	OTHER	TOT- AL
		\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Owner	486	941	708	53	79	234	449	2464
Owner	344	1111	958	63	82	275	342	2831
Renter	181	701	392	16	35	129	61	1334
Squatter	5	218	40	33	14	116		421
Unknown	1	745		235				980
ALL	1017	952	732	50	72	228	341	2376

TABLE XXVI
(c)

AVERAGE ASSETS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE *

HERRY CREEK. 1938

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	AV. LIVE- STOCK	MACH- INERY	SUP- PLIES	CAR	OTHER	TOTAL
		\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Owner	137	1611	681	20	100	1096	3789
Owner	119	1732	788	11	88	483	3296
Renter							
Renter	72	891	477	8	45	72	1634
Squatter	7	260	306	11	4	4	669
ALL	335	1471	671	14	82	636	2874

TABLE XXVI
(d)

AVERAGE ASSETS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE *

TILLEY EAST. 1938

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	AV. LIVE- STOCK	MACH- INERY	SUP- PLIES	CAR	OTHER	TOTAL
		\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
Owner	325	902	920	3	92	410	2626
Owner	282	1021	1038	3	90	500	2898
Renter							
Renter	151	725	489	10	27	77	1560
ALL	758	911	878	5	78	377	2249

* Based upon complete and partial Records.

TABLE XXVI
(e)

AVERAGE ASSETS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE
SOUNDING CREEK. 1936

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OPERATORS	AVERAGE ASSETS
Owner	376	1984
Owner Renter	624	2900
Renter	162	1173
ALL	1162	2363

The largest asset for all Areas for which information was available was livestock. The same was true for all tenures in all Areas except for owner renters in the Tilley East ^{where the} ~~where~~ chief asset was machinery.

In all areas the proportion of the assets allotted^t to livestock increased as one moved from the owner to the tenant tenure groups. (Table XVII).

The small proportion of the farm assets to be found in the form of supplies such as seed and feed indicates how little the operators ^{had then} ~~have~~ in reserve for possible emergencies. Government aid is needed in large quantities in periods of distress.

The owner-renter group allotted^t a greater proportion of its assets to machinery than did any other group. This explains in some measure why the size of farm in this group is consistently greater in all Areas. (Table XXIV) More land is rented in an attempt to more efficiently utilize the machinery at hand.

The proportion of the assets allotted^t to the car is remarkably uniform in all areas as is the proportion allotted to furnishings where such information

TABLE XXVII
(a)AVERAGE ASSETS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

SULLIVAN LAKE. 1937

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	AV. LIVE- STOCK	EACH- INERY	SUP- PLIES	CAR	FURN- ISHINGS	OTHER	TOTAL
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Owner	329	36	25	2	4	8	25	100
Owner	236	40	29	2	4	8	17	100
Renter								
Renter	126	50	28	1	4	10	7	100
Squatter	6	48	13	*		7	32	100
ALL	697	39	27	1	4	9	20	100

TABLE XXVII
(b)AVERAGE ASSETS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

NEUTRAL HILLS. 1937

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	AV. LIVE- STOCK	EACH- INERY	SUP- PLIES	CAR	FURN- ISHINGS	OTHER	TOTAL
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Owner	486	38	29	2	3	10	18	100
Owner	344	39	34	2	3	10	12	100
Renter								
Renter	181	53	29	1	3	10	4	100
Squatter	5	52	10	8	3	27		100
Unknown	1	76		24				100
ALL	1017	40	31	2	3	10	14	100

* Less than 0.5%

TABLE XXVII
(c)

AVERAGE ASSETS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

BERRY CREEK. 1938

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	AV. LIVE- STOCK	MACH- INERY	SUP- PLIES	CAR	OTHER	TOTAL
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Owner	137	46	19	1	3	31	100
Owner	119	56	26	*	3	15	100
Renter							
Renter	22	60	32	*	3	5	100
Squatter	7	44	52	2	1	1	100
ALL	335	51	23	1	3	22	100

TABLE XXVII
(d)

AVERAGE ASSETS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

TILLEY EAST. 1938

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	AV. LIVE- STOCK	MACH- INERY	SUP- PLIES	CAR	OTHER	TOTAL
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Owner	325	39	39	*	4	18	100
Owner	232	39	39	*	3	19	100
Renter							
Renter	151	54	37	1	2	6	100
ALL	758	41	39	*	3	17	100

* Less than 0.5%

is available. ~~Liabilities on land and taxes are~~
~~liabilities may be considered in the nature of Berry Creek~~
~~liabilities. They may be considered as actually not~~
~~proportional to the income of the farm operator and~~
~~to his total assets.~~

LIABILITIES PER OPERATOR

The larger liabilities per operator are found in the owner and owner renter tenure. (Table XXVIII) This is caused primarily by the large amount owed for land and taxes which items are very small in the other tenure classes. In Sullivan Lake and Neutral Hills about 70 percent of the owner and owner renter liabilities are for land and taxes, in Berry Creek and Tilley East from 38 to 49 percent. (Table XXIX) Aside from land the chief liability of operators in the Special Areas is for relief. For renters the proportion of liabilities for relief (seed, feed, gas and oil, direct and medical) form from 49 percent (Sullivan Lake) to 67 percent (Berry Creek) of the total liabilities.

In most Areas owner renters owe more for relief



TABLE XXVIII
(a)

AVERAGE LIABILITIES PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

SULLIVAN LAKE. 1937

TEN- URE OF.	NO. OF	CHARTERED IMPROVEMENTS - GAS BANK LOAN - STORE FARM RENT - OTHER TOTAL													
		LAND TAXES	RE- CHARTER	IMPROVEMENTS	GAS	BANK	LOAN	STORE	FARM	RENT	OTHER	TOTAL			
I	322	1614	602	385	5	104	6	253	14	27	7	39	84	3140	
II	234	1614	542	424	4	172	13	199	20	20	5	48	64	3125	
III	123	24	32	409	4	109	5	97	2	2	3	67	65	837	
IV	5		14	538				100				4	30	682	
ALL	684	1317	475	404	4	127	8	205	13	23	6	47	73	2702	

* Less than \$0.5

I. Owner II. Owner Renter III. Renter IV. Squatter.

TABLE XXVIII
(b)

AVERAGE LIABILITIES PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

NEUTRAL HILLS 1937

TEN- URE	NO. OF OP.	LAND	TAXES	RE- LIEF	MORT.	CHATTLE MORT.	IMPLEM- ENTS & REPAIRS	GAS	BANK	LIUM- OIL	STORE	FARM	LEED- WAGES	OTHER	TOTAL
		\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
I	488	1608	455	536	61	120	9	94	27	41	6	46	109	3112	
II	342	1857	413	661	83	177	10	69	23	44	12	46	163	3558	
III	178		22	517	21	72	7	16	3	25	2	39	126	850	
IV	6		7	328		11			4	5		7	104	466	
V	1			662										662	
ALL	1015	1399	362	574	61	130	9	71	21	39	7	45	130	2848	
II	Owner														
III	Renter														
IV	Squatter														
V	Unknown														

TABLE XXVIII
(c)

AVERAGE LIABILITIES PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

BERRY CREEK. 1938

TEN- URE	NO. OF OP.	LAND	TAXES	RELIEF	CHATT.	EL. MORT.	IMPLE- MENTS	GAS & OIL	BANK	TUM- BER	STORE DEBTS	FARE WAGES	MEDIC- AL	OTHER DEBTS	LEASE ARR.	TOTAL
I	128	461	290	461		16	34	4	80	4	6	2	30	83	151	1618
II	114	362	252	534		1	86	2	55	10	16	9	29	56	112	1524
III	68		76	688		12	49	3	29	1	19	2	46	50	48	1023
IV	8			236			22				6		6			270
ALL	318	315	223	530		9	55	3	58	4	13	5	33	64	111	1423

†† I. Owner II. Owner Renter III. Renter IV. Squatter

* Less than \$0.5

TABLE XXVIII
(a)

AVERAGE LIABILITIES PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

TILLEY EAST, 1938

	RENT	NO. OF	LAND	TAXES	RENT	CHART.	TH. MORT.	IMPROV.	RENTS	GAS	OIL	BANK	LOAN	RENT	STORE	DEBTS	WAGES	MEDIC	AL.	OTHER	DEBTS	LEASE	APR.	TOTAL
I	317	847	192	646	7	89	1	58	26	56	3	83	86	50	2144									
II	271	657	182	762	18	59	3	66	30	69	8	102	121	45	2229									
III	153	7	557	7	18	59	3	7	12	45	2	85	64	23	887									
IV																								
ALL	741	602	150	670	7	115	5	50	25	59	5	90	95	43	1916									
I. Owner																								
II. Owner Renter																								
III. Renter																								
IV. Squatter																								

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TABLE XXVIII
(e)

AVERAGE LIABILITIES PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF
OPERATOR

SOUNDING CREEK. 1936

TENURE OF OPERATOR	NO. OF OPERATOR	AVERAGE LIABILITIES
		\$
Owner	376	3400
Owner Renter	624	3725
Renter	162	1135
ALL	1162	3259

TABLE XXIX

(a)
LIABILITIES PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

SULLIVAN LAKE, 1937

TEN- URE OP.	NO. OF OP.	LAND TAXES	RE- LIEF	CHAPTEL. MONT.	IMPLEM- ENTS & REPAIRS	GAS OIL	BANK LUM.	STOCK LUM.	STOCK WAGES	OTHER DEBTS	TOTAL
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
I	322	52	19	12	4	4	8	1	1	3	100
II	234	52	17	14	4	4	6	1	1	2	100
III	123	3	4	49	4	1	12	4	4	3	100
IV	5		2	79			15		4		100
ALL	684	49	17	15	4	4	7	1	4	3	100

* Less than 0.5%

**

I. Owner

II. Owner Renter

III. Renter

IV. Squatter

V. Unknown

TABLE XXIX

(b)

LIABILITIES PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

NEUTRAL HILLS, 1937

TYPE OF OPER.	NO. OF OPER.	LAND TAXES RE- CHATTIL. INTERESTS & DEBTS	REPAIRS OIL	RENTS & DEBTS	WAGES	OTHER TOTAL	
		%	%	%	%	%	
I	488	52	15	17	2	4	100
II	342	52	12	19	2	1	100
III	178	3	61	2	3	15	100
IV	6	2	70	2	1	22	100
V	1		100				100
ALL	1015	49	13	20	2	5	100
* Less than 0.5%							
VI							
I. Owner							
II. Owner							
III. Renter							
IV. Squatter							
V. Unknown							

TABLE XXIX
LIABILITIES PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, 1938																	
TEN- URE	NO. OF OP.	% LAID	% TAXES	% RENTS	% CHATT.	% MORT.	% INSUR.	% GAS & OIL	% BAKE	% LUM.	% FUR.	% STORE	% FURNIT.	% ELECTR.	% MACHIN.	% TOTAL	
I	128	29	13	29	1	2	4	4	5	4	4	4	2	2	5	9	100
II	114	24	16	35	4	6	4	4	4	1	1	1	2	2	4	7	100
III	68	8	8	67	1	5	4	4	3	4	4	2	4	4	5	5	100
IV	8			28		8						2		2			
ALL	318	22	16	37	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	1	2	2	5	8	100
% less than 0.5%																	
I. Owner																	
II. Owner																	
III. Owner																	
IV. Owner																	
V. Owner																	

* less than 0.5%

I. Owner II. Owner Center III. Center IV. Squatter

TABLE XXIX

(d)

 LIABILITIES PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATION
 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
 TILLEY EAST, 1938

TYPE - DUR. *	NO. OF OP.	% LAND	% TOOLS	% RETENR	CHART- TER.	% OIL	% GAS	% MINES	% TRAIL- HOLD.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% CHART- TER.	% FERTIL- IZER.	% 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than do the other tenure classes. In Berry Creek, the renter group owes most per operator. The larger amount owed for relief by owner renters is explained by their larger average size farm per operator, (Table XXIV) and consequently greater seed, feed and gas and oil relief requirements. The amounts owed for implements and repairs is also larger for this particular group. This would be expected because of the larger amount of machinery included in their assets. (Table XXVI).

RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR

The information on farm receipts was taken for the crop year preceding the year of the survey. Thus, Sullivan Lake and Neutral Hills receipts apply to the 1936 crop year, for Berry Creek and Tilley East to the 1937 crop year and Sounding Creek to the 1935 crop year. In all these years ^{depression was} ~~depressed prices were~~ encountered due generally to low prices for agricultural products and drought conditions. The average receipts must therefore be considered as ^{applying to} ~~typical~~ for the one year ^{only} ~~alone~~. Little information on types of farming, for instance can be obtained from a study of the information presented.

(a) Cash Receipts - The total receipts of the operator were divided into cash and relief receipts. In the Neutral Hills, Sullivan Lake and Sounding Creek Areas the owner renter had the largest cash receipts per operator. (Table XXX) In Tilley East and Berry Creek the owner operator had the largest cash receipts. In all Areas the cash receipts of owner and owner renter were somewhat similar. There was a substantial fall in receipts obtained by tenants. The distribution of receipts between the different sources is fairly consistent between the various tenures (Table XXXI). There is some indication however that a larger proportion of cash receipts comes from farm produce in the tenant class than in the other tenures. By farm produce receipts is meant the receipts from the sale of butter, cream, eggs, poultry, meat, etc. The owner renter obtains a larger proportion of cash receipts from his farm operations than does any other tenure group. In the case of Tilley East alone, the owner operator received the largest proportion of cash receipts from the farm. This, however, was due to a few exceptional records, where the income from sources other than the farm unit ^{was} were exceptionally high. (Table XXX (d)).

TABLE XXX
(a)

AVERAGE CASH RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF
OPERATOR
SULLIVAN LAKE. 1937

TYPE	NO. OF OP.	TOTAL CROP	TOTAL LIVE- STOCK	FARM PRO- DUCE	FARM WORK	TOTAL FARM	OUTSIDE SOURCES	TOTAL CASH
		\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
I	224	101	210	110	21	442	72	514
II	145	218	222	147	37	624	23	647
III	59	58	135	119	20	332	32	364
IV	4		47	89	15	151	16	167
ALL	432	134	203	123	26	486	49	535

TABLE XXX
(b)

AVERAGE CASH RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
NEUTRAL HILLS. 1937

[illegible]

TABLE XXX

(c)

AVERAGE CASH RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

HENRY CREEK, 1938

TEN- URE	NO. OF OP.	TOTAL CROP	TOTAL LIVE- STOCK	FARM PRO- DUCE	FARM WORK	TOTAL FARM	OUTSIDE SOURCES	TOTAL CASH
XX		\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
I	143	23	365	50	26	463	127	589
II	118	32	382	61	26	481	69	550
III	70		156	58	19	233	61	294
IV	10		34	2		36	126	162
ALL	341	21	311	54	23	409	94	503

TABLE XXX

(d)

AVERAGE CASH RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

TILLEY EAST, 1938

TEN- URE	NO. OF OP.	TOTAL CROP	TOTAL LIVE- STOCK	FARM PRO- DUCE	FARM WORK	TOTAL FARM	OUTSIDE SOURCES	TOTAL CASH
XX		\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
I	348	6	321	60	8	395	36	431
II	290	20	242	43	16	326	64	390
III	156	2	143	42	11	203	28	231
IV	1						240	240
ALL	795	10	256	82	12	332	44	376

XX

I. Owner

II. Owner Renter

III. Renter

IV. Squatter

V. Unknown

TABLE XXX.

(e)

CASH RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR

SOUNDING CREEK. 1936

<u>TENURE</u>	<u>NO. OF</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
<u>OF OPERATOR</u>	<u>OPERATOR</u>	<u>CASH RECEIPTS</u>
		\$
Owner	404	421
Owner Renter	646	605
Renter	167	302
Squatter	1	
ALL	1218	502

TABLE XXXI
(a)
CASH RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
SULLIVAN LAKE. 1937

TEN- URE II	NO. OF OP.	TOTAL CROP %	TOTAL LIVE- STOCK %	FARM PRO- DUCE %	FARM WORK %	TOTAL FARM %	OUTSIDE SOURCES %	TOTAL CASH %
I	224	20	41	21	4	86	14	100
II	145	34	34	23	6	97	3	100
III	59	16	37	32	6	91	9	100
IV	4		29	53	9	91	9	100
ALL	432	25	38	23	5	91	9	100

TABLE XXXI
(b)
CASH RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
NEUTRAL HILLS. 1937

TEN- URE II	NO. OF OP.	TOTAL CROP %	TOTAL LIVE- STOCK %	FARM PRO- DUCE %	FARM WORK %	TOTAL FARM %	OUTSIDE SOURCES %	TOTAL CASH %
I	485	30	33	16	8	87	13	100
II	344	35	30	15	10	90	10	100
III	169	35	21	19	14	89	11	100
IV	5		27	23	6	56	44	100
V	1		68		32	100		100
ALL	1004	33	30	15	10	88	12	100

~~II~~

I. Owner II. Owner Renter III. Renter
IV. Squatter V. Unknown

TABLE XXXI

(c)

CASH RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
BERRY CREEK. 1938

TEN- URE **	NO. OF OP.	TOTAL CROP %	TOTAL LIVE- STOCK %	FARM PRO- DUCE %	FARM WORK %	TOTAL FARM %	OUTSIDE SOURCES %	TOTAL CASH %
I	143	4	62	8	4	78	22	100
II	118	6	66	11	4	87	13	100
III	70		53	19	7	79	21	100
IV	10		21	1		22	78	100
ALL	341	4	62	11	4	81	19	100

TABLE XXXI

(c)

CASH RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
TILLEY EAST. 1938

TEN- URE **	NO. OF OP.	TOTAL CROP %	TOTAL LIVE- STOCK %	FARM PRO- DUCE %	FARM WORK %	TOTAL FARM %	OUTSIDE SOURCES %	TOTAL CASH %
I	348	2	74	14	2	92	8	100
II	290	5	62	12	4	83	17	100
III	156	1	64	18	5	83	12	100
IV	1						100	100
ALL	795	3	68	14	3	88	12	100

**

I. Owner II. Owner Renter III. Renter
IV. Squatter

(b) Relief Receipts - The owner renter group received the largest relief receipts in most areas. (Table XXXII). It will be recalled that this tenure group also had the largest relief debt per operator in most areas. (Table XXVIII) The larger amount of relief obtained for this group is associated with the larger size of farm found in this tenure group. (Table XXIV) This group generally cultivates more land and runs more cattle than other groups as is shown by the larger amount of owned and rented land, and leased land. Because of this, in periods of distress, more assistance is needed in the form of seed, feed and gas and oil relief than is the case with other forms of tenure. The larger size of family found in this group (Table XXI) is another factor adding to the amount of relief received.

The distribution of various types of relief does not seem to follow any set pattern between the various tenures. (Table XXXIII) It appears, however, that renters receive a larger proportion of their relief receipts in the form of direct and hospital relief.

(c) Total Receipts. Generally the proportion of receipts obtained in forms of "cash" and relief differed little between owners and owner renters. (Table XXXIV).

TABLE XXXII
(a)

AVERAGE RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE
OF OPERATOR
SULLIVAN LAKE. 1937

TEN- URE	NO. OP.	OF \$	SEED \$	SEED \$	GAS \$	DIRECT \$	TOTAL RELIEF \$	TOTAL CASH & RELIEF \$
XX					OIL	HOSPITAL		
I	224	48	46	2	19		115	629
II	145	50	63	10	28		151	798
III	59	56	57	3	49		165	529
IV	4		22		83		105	272
ALL	432	49	53	5	27		134	669

TABLE XXXII
(b)

AVERAGE RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE
OF OPERATOR
NEUTRAL HILLS. 1937

TEN- URE	NO. OP.	OF \$	SEED \$	SEED \$	GAS \$	DIRECT \$	TOTAL RELIEF \$	TOTAL CASH & RELIEF \$
XX					OIL	HOSPITAL		
I	485	28	66	2	87		183	575
II	344	44	85	4	111		244	738
III	169	34	68	*	133		235	528
IV	5	17	9		81		107	310
V	1		84		192		276	901
ALL	1004	34	73	2	103		212	622

xx See Table XXXII (d)

TABLE KXXII
(c)

AVERAGE RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE
OF OPERATOR
BERRY CREEK. 1938

TEN- URE No	NO. OF OP.	SEED	FEED	GAS & OIL	DIRECT & HOSPITAL	TOTAL RELIEF	TOTAL CASH & RELIEF
		\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
I	145	57	66	3	24	149	739
II	118	81	73	4	21	179	729
III	70	89	126	2	48	265	539
IV	10	10	37		32	79	241
ALL	341	70	80	3	28	181	684

TABLE KXXII
(d)

AVERAGE RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE
OF OPERATOR
TILLEY EAST. 1938

TEN- URE No	NO. OF OP.	SEED	FEED	GAS & OIL	DIRECT & HOSPITAL	TOTAL RELIEF	TOTAL CASH & RELIEF
		\$	\$	\$	\$	\$	\$
I	348	119	105	9	129	362	793
II	290	153	115	36	133	437	827
III	186	109	113	7	127	356	587
IV	1		11			11	251
ALL	795	129	110	19	130	388	764

I. Owner II. Owner Renter III. Renter
IV. Squatter

TABLE XXXII
(c)

AVERAGE RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE
OF OPERATOR

SOUNDING CREEK. 1936

<u>TENURE</u>	<u>NO. OF</u>	<u>AVERAGE</u>
<u>OF OPERATOR</u>	<u>OPERATOR</u>	<u>RELIEF RCPTS.</u>

\$

Owner	404	163
Owner Renter	646	176
Renter	167	178
Squatter	1	203
ALL	1218	172

TABLE XXXIII

(a)

RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
SULLIVAN LAKE. 1937

TENURE OF OPERATOR	SEED	FEED	GAS & OIL	DIRECT & HOSPITAL	TOTAL RELIEF
	%	%	%	%	%
Owner	42	40	1	17	100
Owner	33	41	7	19	100
Renter					
Renter	34	35	2	29	100
Squatter		21		79	100
ALL	37	39	4	20	100

TABLE XXXIII

(b)

RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
NEUTRAL HILLS. 1937

TENURE OF OPERATOR	SEED	FEED	GAS & OIL	DIRECT & HOSPITAL	TOTAL RELIEF
	%	%	%	%	%
Owner	16	36	1	47	100
Owner	18	35	1	46	100
Renter					
Renter	15	29	*	56	100
Squatter	16	8		76	100
Unknown		30		70	100
ALL	16	34	1	49	100

* Less than 0.5%

TABLE XXXIII
(c)
RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
BERRY CREEK. 1938

TENURE OF OPERATOR	SEED	FEED	GAS & OIL	DIRECT & HOSPITAL	TOTAL RELIEF
	%	%	%	%	%
Owner	38	44	2	16	100
Owner	45	41	2	12	100
Renter					
Renter	33	48	1	18	100
Squatter	13	46		41	100
ALL	39	44	2	15	100

TABLE XXXIII
(d)
RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
TILLEY EAST. 1938

TENURE OF OPERATOR	SEED	FEED	GAS & OIL	DIRECT & HOSPITAL	TOTAL RELIEF
	%	%	%	%	%
Owner	33	29	2	36	100
Owner	35	26	8	31	100
Renter					
Renter	30	32	2	36	100
Squatter		100			100
ALL	33	28	5	34	100

TABLE XXXIV

(a)

CASH AND RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE
OF OPERATOR

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

SULLIVAN LAKE. 1937

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	CASH RCPTS.	RELIEF RCPTS.	AVERAGE TOTAL RCPTS.
		%	%	\$
Owner	224	82	18	629
Owner	145	81	19	798
Renter				
Renter	59	69	31	529
Squatter	4	61	39	272
ALL	432	80	20	669

TABLE XXXIV

(b)

CASH AND RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE
OF OPERATOR

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

NEUTRAL HILLS. 1937

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	CASH RCPTS.	RELIEF RCPTS.	AVERAGE TOTAL RCPTS.
		%	%	\$
Owner	485	68	32	575
Owner	344	67	33	738
Renter				
Renter	169	55	45	528
Squatter	5	66	34	310
Unknown	1	69	31	901
ALL	1004	66	34	622

TABLE XXXIV
(c)
CASH AND RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE
OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
BERRY CREEK, 1938

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	CASH RCPTS.	RELIEF RCPTS.	AVERAGE TOTAL RCPTS.
		%	%	\$
I	143	80	20	739
II	118	75	25	729
III	70	53	47	559
IV	10	67	33	241
ALL	341	73	27	684

TABLE XXXIV
(d)
CASH AND RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE
OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
TILLEY EAST, 1938

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	CASH RCPTS.	RELIEF RCPTS.	AVERAGE TOTAL RCPTS.
		%	%	\$
I	348	54	46	793
II	290	47	53	827
III	156	39	61	587
IV	1	96	4	251
ALL	795	49	51	764

x

I. Owner II. Owner Renter III. Renter
IV. Squatter

TABLE XXXIV
(e)
CASH AND RELIEF RECEIPTS PER OPERATOR BY TENURE
OF OPERATOR
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
SOUNDING CREEK. 1936

TENURE OF OP.	NO. OF OP.	CASH RCPTS.	RELIEF RCPTS.	AVERAGE TOTAL RCPTS.
		%	%	\$
Owner	404	72	28	484
Owner	646	77	23	781
Renter				
Renter	167	63	37	480
Squatter	1		100	203
ALL	1218	74	26	674

Tenants received a larger proportion of their total receipts from relief than did the other two tenure groups.

TENURE OF LAND IN THE SPECIAL AREAS OF ALBERTA TERMINOLOGY

The Land Utilization Surveys of the years 1936, 1937, 1938 and 1939 investigated the tenure of parcel as part of its general scheme of study. As in the case of the "Tenure of Operator" a separate terminology was adopted.

The tenures of the individual parcels of land were grouped according to land use and the prevailing methods of leasing land in the Areas. In all, seven separate tenure of parcel classes were set up which were further grouped in four tenure groups. These groups with their separate classes are:

1. Owned Parcels.- The operator might already have title to this parcel or he may be purchasing it.
2. Rented Parcels.- Under this class were grouped all parcels rented for cultivation purposes. This class does not include parcels leased for grazing parcels. The different kinds of renting recognized were: (a) Short term cultivation lease. (2 years and under) Payment for use is by crop share.

(b) Long term cultivation lease. (3 years and over)
Payment for use is by crop share. (c) Cash rent.
Payment for use is by cash rent.

3. Leased Parcels. - This class includes all parcels leased for grazing purposes. Two types of leases for grazing purposes were recognized. (a) Short term grazing leases. This includes all grazing leases that extend for four years or less. (b) Long term grazing leases. This includes all grazing leases that extend five years or more.

4. Squatted Parcels. - This includes all parcels used by the operator to which he has no legal right. A rather broad viewpoint upon "legal rights" was taken however. For instance if a lease had expired but the operator was still in possession with the intention of renewing it at some future date, the tenure of the parcel would not be classed in the squatter group. Also if the operator had lost his ownership rights because of non-payment of taxes the parcel would still be termed "owned" unless some rental agreement had been arranged with the municipality in which case it would fall into one of the rental classes.

LAND CLASSIFICATION AND TENURE OF PARCEL

One of the tasks set out by the Economics Division of the Dominion Department of Agriculture in its economic surveys of the Special Areas was a study of land utilization and land classification on a quarter section unit basis.

The basis of land classification used was the probable sale of bushels of wheat per quarter section. The margins of four land classes were set. For land class I (submarginal for wheat production) the probable amount of wheat for sale per quarter ranged from 0 to 374 bushels. For land class II (marginal for wheat production) the limits were 375 to 517 bushels per quarter. For land class III the limits were 518 to 795 bushels and for land class IV the limits were from 796 to 999 bushels for sale per quarter.¹

Information was compiled on one area for which data ^{were} ~~was~~ available, namely, Berry Creek Special Area. It was found that 799,272 acres of the occupied area

1

Budgets for Alberta Land Utilization Surveys, 1937. Typewritten instructions.

was in land class I, 53,324 acres in land class II 9,577 acres in land class III and only 960 acres in land class IV. (Table XXXV (a)). Most of the land was evidently submarginal. In this land class 78 percent of the land was leased for grazing purposes, about 14 percent was owned and about 7 percent was rented for cultivation purposes. In land class II only 27 percent was leased for grazing purposes, 41 percent was owned and 32 percent was rented for cultivation purposes. In land class III 10 percent was leased for grazing purposes, 37 percent was owned and 53 percent was rented for purposes of cultivation. All of land class IV was owned by the operator (Table XXXV (c)).

In land class I the larger proportions of recently cultivated and total cultivated land was to be found in parcels rented for purposes of cultivation. The smallest proportion was to be found in parcels leased for grazing. The same tendency was evident in the higher land classes with the owner tenure of parcel assuming the dominant role. (Table XXXV (b)).

There appears to be a tendency for renters to use the land more intensively than do owners. For

TABLE XXIV

(a.)

LAND USE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS BY LAND CLASS AND TENURE OF PARCEL

HERRY CREEK. 1938

TENURE OF PARCELS*	NO. OF PARCELS	RECENT CULT.	TOTAL CULT.	PASTURE ACRES	ASSESSED ACRES
		Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres
LAND CLASS I					
I	727	32902	48669	62813	112639
II	100	6618	8741	7094	15935
III	13	615	860	1093	2078
IV	240	16424	21026	17102	38378
V	1707	3671	45833	215788	265789
VI	2271	8290	108629	246855	358871
VII	35	590	2517	2955	5582
ALL	5093	69110	236275	553700	799272
LAND CLASS II					
I	136	13782	16691	4882	21703
II	49	4533	5196	2501	7829
III	5	180	470	304	799
IV	53	4566	5512	2873	8470
V	57	607	2799	6292	9106
VI	33	817	3072	2173	5257
VII	1			160	160
ALL	354	24485	33740	19185	53324
LAND CLASS III					
I	22	2548	2833	635	3513
II	13	1677	1802	260	2062
III	19	2310	2515	497	3042
V	2	160	160	160	320
VI	4		610	30	640
ALL	60	6695	7920	1582	9577
LAND CLASS IV					
I	6	850	935	25	960

* See page 197.

TABLE XXXV

(b)

LAND USE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS BY LAND CLASS AND TENURE
OF PARCEL

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

BERRY CREEK. 1938

TENURE OF PARCELS*	NO. OF PARCELS	RECENT CULT.	TOTAL CULT.	PASTURE	ASSESSED ACREAGE
		%	%	%	%
LAND CLASS I					
I	727	29	43	56	100
II	100	41	55	44	100
III	13	30	41	53	100
IV	240	43	55	45	100
V	1707	1	17	81	100
VI	2271	1	30	69	100
VII	35	10	45	53	100
ALL	5093	9	30	69	100
LAND CLASS II					
I	136	64	77	22	100
II	49	58	66	32	100
III	5	23	59	38	100
IV	53	54	65	34	100
V	57	7	31	69	100
VI	33	16	58	41	100
VII	1			100	100
ALL	374	46	63	36	100
LAND CLASS III					
I	22	73	81	18	100
II	13	81	87	13	100
III					
IV	19	76	83	16	100
V	2	50	50	50	100
VI	4		95	5	100
VII					
ALL	60	70	83	17	100
LAND CLASS IV					
I	6	89	97	3	100
* See page	197				

TABLE XXXIV

(a)

LAND USE OF OCCUPIED PARCELS BY LAND CLASS AND TENURE OF PARCEL

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION

FERRY CREEK, 1938

TENURE OF PARCELS**	NO. OF PARCELS	PERCENT CULT.	TOTAL CULT.	PASTURE	ASSESSED ACRAGE
	%	%	%	%	%
LAND CLASS I					
I	14	48	21	11	14
II	2	9	4	1	2
III	x	1	x	x	x
IV	5	24	9	3	5
V	33	8	19	39	33
VI	45	12	46	45	45
VII	1	1	1	1	1
ALL	100	100	100	100	100
LAND CLASS II					
I	41	56	50	25	41
II	15	19	16	13	15
III	1	1	1	2	1
IV	16	19	16	15	16
V	17	2	8	33	17
VI	10	3	9	11	10
VII	x			1	x
ALL	100	100	100	100	100
LAND CLASS III					
I	36	38	36	40	37
II	22	25	23	16	21
III					
IV	32	35	31	32	32
V	3	2	2	10	3
VI	7		8	2	7
VII					
ALL	100	100	100	100	100
LAND CLASS IV					
I	ALL	ALL	ALL	ALL	ALL
x	Less than 0.5%				
**	See page 197				

instance of, 43 percent of the land broken on land owned by the operator in land class I only 29 percent has been recently cultivated. In the same land class, of 55 percent of the land rented on a long term basis by operators 43 percent was recently cultivated. This tendency appears to be not so evident as one moves to the higher land classes (Table XXXV (b)).

The proportion of land operated by owners jumps sharply from land class I to land class II. The proportion decreases slightly in land class III. The proportion cultivated by renters follows the same tendency. The latter, however, tend to increase their importance in land class III. With an improvement in land class there is a decreasing proportion of land leased for grazing purposes.

★

1. Owned.
2. Share rent short term cultivation lease.
3. Cash rent. Cultivation lease.
4. Share rent. Long term cultivation lease.
5. Long term grazing lease.
6. Short term grazing lease.
7. Squatted.

In all land classes, long term leases are preferred both for grazing and cultivation purposes. Cash rent leases for cultivation are not very popular. Less than 1 percent in all land classes was rented under this form of agreement. In an Area where crops are uncertain, the preference is for share crop leases. Experience in the field has indicated that considerations of the value of land for crop raising purposes is not always the reason for the payment of a cash rent. A good farmstead, available water and other considerations that could not be measured in terms of crop returns all play a large part in determining the reason for assuming a cash rent form of agreement and the amount of cash rent to be paid.

SUMMARY

In the preceding sections an attempt has been made to briefly review different tenure systems, and to explain their developement. The problem of tenancy was recognized as a problem of landlord tenant relationships.

The geographic and historic background was reviewed in an attempt to explain tenure conditions in Western Canada at the present time.

Particular attention was paid to the Special Areas of Alberta. It was seen that the owner operator base for Western agriculture was slowly disappearing. In the Special Areas the decrease has been marked. Some attempt was made at setting forth the characteristics of operators in different tenure groups. It was indicated that operators born in Alberta were likely to be tenant operators. Operators who have always been farmers would be tenants rather than leave the occupation to which they were accustomed.

The type of farming did not vary between the different tenure classes in the Special Areas. Tenants started farming with the smallest net worth and owner operators with the largest net worth.

Both assets and liabilities were greatest with the owner renter operator group. In many respects however, owner operators and owner renters were found to have similar characteristics in the Special Areas.

Farm operators in the Special Areas of Alberta appear to be adjusting their tenure relations to the peculiar geographic conditions under which they must produce. It is hoped that efforts will be made to adjust tenure relations and perhaps devise more appropriate forms of tenure so that people who strive to create an existence for themselves by the pursuit of agriculture will be more amply rewarded.

Appendix A

FORM FOR SHARE CROP LEASE#

THIS AGREEMENT, Made thisday of
 19.... by and between hereinafter called
 the operator and owner of the real
 estate hereinafter described

WITNESSETH, That the operator hereby agrees to
 and with the owner, for the consideration hereinafter named, to
 well and faithfully till and farm, during the season of farming
 in the year 19..., 19..., 19..., 19..., and 19..., commencing
 19.... and ending 19...., in a good and
 husbandlike manner, and according to the usual course of husbandry,
 the following described premises and land situated in the municipal-
 ity of in the Province of Alberta, to-wit:

.....
 (Description of land).....

ONE. The operator agrees to furnish at his own expense all
 horses, machinery, equipment, implements, and utensils necessary
 for the proper operation of said land (except as hereinafter
 otherwise provided for.

TWO. The operator agrees to furnish all labor necessary to
 farm and cultivate said land.

THREE. The operator agrees to sow and plant on the said land
 such crops as may be agreed upon by the owner and operator, but
 the owner reserves the right of final decision in case of dis-
 agreement.

FOUR. The owner agrees to furnish all seed necessary to sow and
 plant said land and to pay the cash threshing bill.

FIVE. In consideration of the faithful performance of all
 the stipulations of this contract, the owner agrees upon reasonable
 request thereafter made to give and deliver to the operator one
 half of the corn in the field, one half of the hay in the stack
 or barn, and one half of the other grains in the granary or
 elevator.

SIX. The operator agrees that he will not sell, remove or
 suffer to be removed without the written consent of the owner, any
 part of the crop raised or livestock in which the owner has an
 interest shall remain with the owner.

SEVEN. It is also agreed that in case the operator neglects
 or fails to perform any of the conditions and terms of this
 contract on his part to be done and performed, then the owner

Adapted from
 # A. H. Benton. Farm Tenancy and Leases, The University of
 Minnesota.

is hereby authorized and empowered to enter upon said premises and take full and absolute possession of the same, and he may do and perform all things agreed to be done by the operator, remaining undone, and may retain or sell sufficient of the crops raised on said premises that would otherwise belong to the operator if he had performed the conditions hereof, to pay and satisfy all costs and expenses of every kind incurred in performing said contract, with interest at per cent per annum, and the residue remaining, if any, of said crops, shall belong to the operator, after all conditions are fulfilled.

EIGHT. The operator agrees to keep up and maintain in good repair all buildings, stables, fences, and improvements on said premises and to return them in as good condition as at the commencement of the lease, natural wear and tear and unavoidable accidents excepted. The owner is to furnish material for repairs but the operator is to do the hauling of said material. The operator also agrees to watch, care for, and protect shade trees and to cut no green trees and commit no waste or damage to said real estate or suffer any to be done.

NINE. The operator further agrees to sell no straw and to have it and all manure produced, hauled and spread on the fields most in need of it; and to mow the roadsides and keep all noxious weeds from going to seed and to prevent as far as possible the introduction of weeds not already present.

TEN. The operator agrees not to sublet any part of this land without first obtaining the written consent of the owner, and the owner reserves the right of free entry upon the premises for the purpose of making improvements thereon, to plow or till certain fields when the lease is to be terminated.

ELEVEN. It is further agreed that if the operator remains in possession of said premises after the expiration of the term for which they are hereby leased, such possession shall not be construed to be a renewal of this lease, but to be a lease which may be terminated upon ten days' notice given by the owner in writing, either delivered to the operator or sent to in a sealed envelope, duly stamped and directed to at which is hereby declared by to be usual post-office address.

THIRTEEN. And the owner agrees that the operator performing the covenants of this lease shall peacefully and quietly have, hold, and enjoy the said leased premises for the term aforesaid.

In Testimony Whereof both parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year hereinbefore written.

Signed, sealed, and delivered in (Parties to contract)
 the presence ofSeal
 (Witnesses)Seal
Seal
Seal

FORM FOR CASH LEASE

THIS AGREEMENT, Made thisday of
 19...., by and betweenhereinafter called
 the operator andowner of the real estate
 hereinafter described.

Witnesseth, That the operator hereby agrees to and with the owner, for the consideration hereinafter named, to well and faithfully till and farm, during the season of farming in the year 19..., 19..., 19..., 19...., and 19...., commencing19...., and ending19...., in a good and husbandlike manner, and according to the usual course of husbandry, the following described premises and land situated in the municipality of Province of Alberta, to-wit:
 (Description of land)

The operator agrees to and with the owner to pay as rent for the above mentioned premises each year during the term of this lease the sum ofDOLLARS on the day of19...., 19...., 19...., 19.....

ONE. The operator agrees to keep up and maintain in good repair all buildings, stables, fences, and improvements on said premises, and to return them in as good condition as at the commencement of the lease, natural wear and tear and unavoidable accidents excepted. The owner is to furnish the material for repairs, but the operator is to do the hauling of said material. The operator agrees to watch, care for, and protect the shade trees thereon and to cut no green trees and to commit no waste or damage to said premises or suffer any to be done.

TWO. The operator agrees to sell no straw, and to have it and all manure produced, hauled and spread on the fields most in need of it; and to mow the roadsides and keep all noxious weeds from going to seed and to prevent the introduction of weeds not already present, and to leave as many acres of land plowed on giving up possession of the premises at the termination of this lease as were plowed at the time of taking possession of the premises.

THREE. The operator agrees not to sublet any part of this farm without first obtaining the consent of the owner, and the owner reserves the right of free entry upon the premises for the purpose of making improvements thereon, or plowing or tilling certain fields when the lease is to be terminated.

FOUR. It is agreed that if the operator fails to make the above mentioned payments as herein specified or to pay any of the aforesaid rent when due, or fails to fulfil any of the covenants of this lease, then and in that case the owner may re-enter and take possession of the above rented premises, and hold and enjoy the same without such re-entering working a forfeiture of the rents to be paid by the operator for the full term of this lease.

FIVE. It is further agreed that if the operator remains in possession of said premises after the expiration of the term for which they are hereby leased, such possession shall not be construed to be a renewal of this lease, but to be a lease which may be terminated upon ten days' notice given by the owner in writing, either delivered to the operator or sent to in a sealed envelope, duly stamped and directed to at which is hereby declared by to be usual post-office address.

SIX. And the owner agrees that the operator upon paying the rent and performing the covenants of this lease shall peacefully and quietly have, hold, and enjoy the said leased premises for the term aforesaid.

In Testimony Whereof both parties have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year hereinbefore written.
Signed, sealed, and delivered in

the presence of
(Witnesses)

(Parties to contract)

.....
.....

.....Seal
.....Seal
.....Seal
.....Seal

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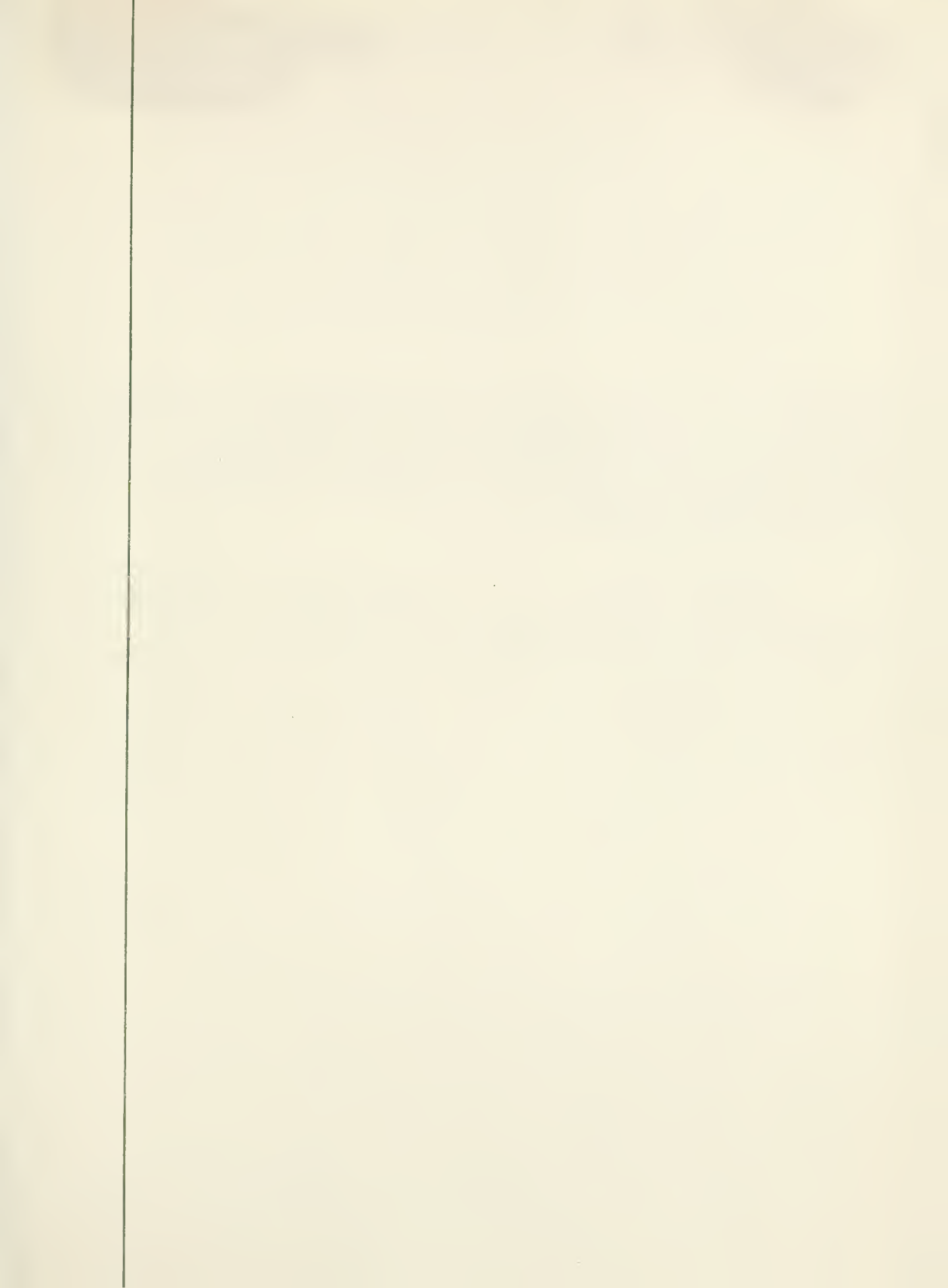
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